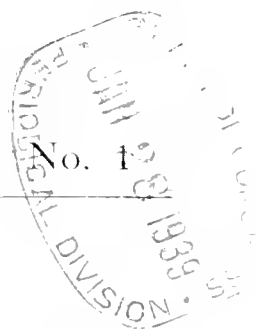




RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXXII

JANUARY, 1939



PEWTER FACTORY OF G. RICHARDSON AT THE CORNER
PHENIX AVENUE AND NATICK ROAD IN CRANSTON, R. I.

See Page 1.

Photograph by Mr. P. J. Franklin

Issued Quarterly

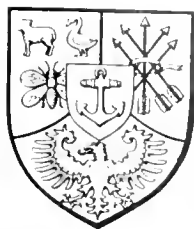
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RHODE
HISTORICAL



ISLAND
SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXXII

JANUARY, 1939

No. 1

HARRY PARSONS CROSS, *President*
WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER, *Secretary*

ROBERT T. DOWNS, *Treasurer*
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The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

G. Richardson, Cranston Pewterer

BY MADELAINE R. BROWN, M.D.

G. Richardson has puzzled collectors of American pewter for many years. The name appears with both a Cranston and Boston touchmark and it has been assumed that he worked in both places. "Glennore Company" which appears on some pieces with "Cranston" remains shrouded in mystery. George Richardson can be found in Boston records from 1818-1830 and it is known where he lived and worked and that he died in 1830 at the age of 83¹. The Cranston and Providence county records, however, have yielded no information until recently a George W. H. Richardson was found in the Cranston Tax Book for 1860. He paid \$1.50 on personal property worth \$300.00. He does not appear either in the 1857 or 1870 book.

This information is due to Mrs. M. B. Nickerson of Cranston who had known a member of the Richardson family. She had been told where the factory was situated and that Mr. Richardson had failed in business. The fac-

¹ Watkins, L. W. "George Richardson, Pewterer" *Antiques* 31:194 April 1937.



OLD PICTURE G. RICHARDSON'S PEWTER FACTORY
IN CRANSTON, R. I.

tory was used later for other purposes but must have been deserted by 1885 as shown by the engraving made at that time (picture above). The old mill stands by a brook between a waterfall and bridge along with two factory houses at the corner of Natick and Phenix Avenues, Cranston. The side walls are standing but not the end walls or roof (picture on cover).

The sugar bowls, tea pots, pint pot and pitcher bearing the Cranston mark are well made but appear to be of a late design and could hardly have been made before 1818 by the Boston G. Richardson. It therefore seems evident that there were two American pewterers by the name of George Richardson and whether they were related or not remains unknown.

Coojoot – A Graphite Mine Located in South Kingstown

PAUL FRANCIS GLEESON

On the west bank of the Narrow River between Middle Bridge and Bridgeton is located Side Hill Farm.¹ Here, in the town of South Kingstown, is the traditional site of the black lead or graphite mine called Coojoot.²

It has been alleged that the Indians made use of the graphite outcroppings in days before the coming of the white men—possibly as a source for a blacking material. The first mention of this black lead, or as it was sometimes referred to “black earth,” is to be found in the writings of Roger Williams. In the “Key into the Language of America” he records the Indian word “Métewis” meaning “black earth.”³ At the same time he makes a note of an Indian town named “Metewêmesick”⁴ as being situated in western Massachusetts. Trumbell, in editing a later edition of the “Key” interprets “black earth” as referring to plum-

¹ In order to reach the mine site it is necessary, after leaving the road, to scramble over a gate and, crossing a field, to climb the hill for a short distance.

² There are at least three variants in the spelling of this word. a). On page 13 of his “Indian Names of Places in Rhode Island” Usher Parsons uses “Cajoot.” b). “Cojoot” is used by Sidney S. Rider in “The Lands of Rhode Island as the Great Sachems Knew Them” page 140. It might be of interest to note that Mr. Rider misquotes Dr. Parsons to whom he attributes the spelling “Cajout.” Dr. Parsons gives the name of the black lead mine as “Cajoot” [see above a).]. Rider page 141 c). On page 275 of Potter’s “Early History of Narragansett” we find “Coojoot.” The writer has used this third form as that is the one found in Potter’s transcript of the first Pettaquamscutt Deed.

³ Williams, Roger “Key into the Language of America”, 1936 edition page 192.

⁴ Ibid.

bago or graphite.⁵ In the same note he shows that in colonies other than Rhode Island there was an interest in the possible commercial exploitation of this mineral,—

“In 1644, John Winthrop, Jun., had a grant of the hill at Tantousq, about 60 miles westward (from Boston), in which the black-leade is.”⁶

This aforementioned deposit would probably be located somewhere near the town of Sturbridge, formerly an important center for graphite.

The exact purpose for which the Indians used graphite is unknown. It is quite possible that it was used for coloring purposes. Williams' references to “black earth” are included in his chapter entitled “Of their paintings.” Here he writes,—

“They paint their Garments, &c.
The men paint their Faces in Warre.
Both Men and Women for pride, &c.”⁷

And further,—

“It hath been the foolish Custome of all barbarous Nations to paint and figure their Faces and Bodies (as it hath been to our shame and grieve, wee may remember it of some of our Fore-Fathers in this Nation.)”⁸

Still quoting from Williams we find that the Indians had the word “Mówi-súcki,”⁹ meaning black. It is entirely possible then from the above that black might have been discovered occupying an important place in a seventeenth century Indian make-up box. It is also possible that the ingredients for this tinting preparation might have come from some black lead mine—possibly from Coojoot. If these suppositions be true we should not, following Wil-

⁵ Narragansett Club Publications, Vol. 1 page 207 n 367.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Williams, op. cit. page 191.

⁸ Ibid. page 192.

⁹ Ibid. page 191.

liams, refer to the Indians as “barbarous” for the term “fashionable” would be more suitable. In support of this we offer the following quotation taken from a contemporary book, —

“He could not bear the sight of his own grey hairs, and therefore used a black-lead comb to discolor them.”¹⁰

Although the Indians may very well have had other sources for their graphite, the deposit at Coojoot seems to have been fairly well known in the middle sixteen hundreds. It is specifically referred to in the first Pettiquamscut Deed dated January 20, 1657 where we find that,—

“They also grant them all the black lead in this title and in a place called Coojoot.”¹¹

Both Judge Potter and Sidney Rider locate the above mentioned deposit as being near the Pettiquamscut Rock and at the foot of Tower Hill.¹² These requirements fit the situation of Side Hill Farm upon which is found the traditional site of Coojoot.

The mention of the word Coojoot in the Pettiquamscut Deed is the only extant use of that word in the seventeenth century. The most probable explanation for this may possibly be inferred from the following quotation taken out of a letter sent by John Winthrop to his son Fitz-John in England. Under the date of September 12, 1658 he writes from Boston,—

“—there is some blacklead digged, but not so much as they expected, it being very difficult to gett out of the rocks, which they are forced to break with fires, the rocks being very hard and not to be entered further than the fire maketh way, so as the charge hath beene so greate in dig-

¹⁰ Murray's Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. 1, pt. 2, page 894.

¹¹ Potter, E. R., “Early History of Narragansett”, page 275.

¹² Rider, op. cit. pages 141-142.

ging of it that I am like to have no profit by the same.”¹³

Although this does not refer to Coojoot, we can well imagine the same situation existing here in Rhode Island. The crude methods of extraction and the low quality of the graphite may have operated in such a way as to prevent the profitable exploitation of the deposit. It is certain that if Coojoot had been operated profitably there would have been many more references to it than have been found.

To find the next reference to these graphite deposits it is necessary to come down to 1840. In this year Charles T. Jackson's "Report on the Geological and Agricultural Survey of the State of Rhode Island" contained the following,—

“Tower Hill, in Kingston. Plumbago is found here in several places and has been wrought to some extent for supplying moulding dust for iron founders. Thirty tons of this substance have been raised at one time by digging only four feet into the rocks in the orchard, upon the hill side.”¹⁴

It may be inferred from the above that these deposits were worked to some extent for the benefit of local industry. Once again, however, it is probable that these operations were not on any large scale, possibly owing to the aforementioned profit angle.

Over half a century was to pass before another serious attempt was to be made at operating this mine. On September 9, 1887 Jesse V. B. Watson sold the Side Hill Farm, which he had inherited from his ancestors, to a Mrs. Emma Carver. During her ownership Mrs. Carver executed a mining franchise to a graphite company which hoped to work the deposits. It is believed that this com-

¹³ Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Fifth Series, Vol. VIII, pages 49-50.

¹⁴ Jackson, C. T., "Report on the Geological and Agricultural Survey of the State of Rhode Island", 1840, page 89.

pany was responsible for extending and deepening the shafts as well as installing a narrow gauge railway to connect them. Although some mining was done and although an effort was made to float stock or bonds on the New York market, the venture was unsuccessful due to the heavy expense involved and the small chance for profit.

Side Hill Farm changed owners again when on October 9, 1908 it was purchased by Thomas G. Hazard, Jr. of Narragansett from Charles Carver and J. Henry Carver, Executors under the will of Emma Carver. A few years later during the World War when mineral prices were high some slight interest was shown in the possibility of reopening the mine. Once again, even in a period of boom prices, it was decided that the mine could not be operated profitably. Since the War the mine has been left undisturbed and bushes and weeds have gradually begun to hide it from public view.¹⁵

¹⁵ Information contained in a letter to the writer from Mr. Thomas G. Hazard, Jr., dated November 15, 1938.

The Journal of Capt. Tillinghast¹

Thursday Providence Aug 23^d 1804

At 7 °Clock started on our journey from R. Durfee arrivid at Fisher Tavern 15 Miles avery rougf stone & hilly. started @ 3½ °Clock arivid at Eatons in Plainfield @ 7½ °Clock 15 miles the chief part of the rode good 30 miles

24th Started at 6½ °Clock Canterbury 4 miles situated on a plesent Hill Scotland meating house 6 miles Windham 4 miles the County Town arrived at Staniford @ 10 °Clock rode good but very hilly the first 10 m. the land poor and full of small round stone found Windham a very pleasent & handsome Town being Court day started at 12 °Clock pased over Windham Brige land poor for some distance at 3 °Clock stops @ J. Roses Tavern 10 miles from Windham past over Willymattock Brige the river being low saw that the bend of the river was entirely a flatt rock saw some good meadow

1. Capt. William E. Tillinghast, the author of this interesting, though hardly important, journal was a native of Providence. He was engaged in the West Indian trade during the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first two decades of the nineteenth centuries. At various times he was owner or part owner in many vessels, including the ship *Fair American*, the brigs *Hunter*, *Planter*, *Argus* and *Commerce*, and the schooner *Polly*. He was on board the *Planter* when, as he expresses it, she "upset" off the coast of North Carolina.

Tillinghast was a descendant of Pardon Tillinghast who settled in Frenchtown during the latter years of the seventeenth century and would seem to have spent a good deal of his time ashore in that part of the state. He married Amey Mawney daughter of Pardon and Experience (Gardiner) Mawney of Frenchtown. It was to visit his wife's relations that this journey to New York State was made.

The journal is preserved in both its rough form and the rewritten "fair" copy. There are certain variations between the two, some of which are herewith noted. Capt. Tillinghast's life at sea is evidenced by much of the phraseology of the writing—but it cannot account for his erratic spelling. His ships papers and ledgers &c. are now in the John Carter Brown Library.

W. D. M.

land on the banks of the river the up land in generall poor. at $5\frac{1}{2}$ °Clock started from Roses in the town of Coventy in Tollon County for Woodbureys (*Tavern*)

- 34 East Hartford 10 miles arrived at 8 °Clock avery pleasant place and a good house & fare come down one every Steap hill rode narrow and high mountain on both sides

25th Started at $6\frac{1}{2}$ °Clock arrived at Goodwins in the Capital of East Harford at 8 °Clock 8 miles and one from the Ferrey not any thing of good fare a very handsome place streat wide with a row of Elm trees in the midle. started at $8\frac{1}{2}$ °Clock to the Ferrey 1 mile croshed the Ferrey which was much narrower then I expected to have found arrived at Lee's Tavern Harford City at 10 °Clock found it a much larger place then expect^d and avery elegant Court House Business appeard to be brisk. started from Lee's at 3 °Clock a very poor fare for a City Tavern Stop^d at Windsor at $4\frac{1}{2}$ °Clock 7 miles started at 5 °Clock arrived at Suffield Col. Kent's $\frac{1}{2}$ mile south of the Meating house @ $7\frac{1}{2}$ °Clock miles Sixes Stage House/ the rodes good and land chief part of the way very sandy & poor timberd with Pines W. Burch & shrub Oak for 4 miles no house

Sunday 26th Started at 6 °Clock for Westfield through springfield whare are plenty of Orchards and trees full of frute the first part of the rode good the latter part very bad crost over the Toll Brige and kep the river rode and the worst since our departure arrived at Eldriges Stage office Westfield @ $9\frac{1}{2}$ °Clock $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles it raining fast put up for the remainder of the day. N.B. enquire of Westfield feading Hills² to avoid the North Hampton rode or you will goe 20 miles further to Albany then is necsary

27. Started at 9 °Clock after being well entertaind proceeded on the rode to beckett up the river Turnpike

2. What are "feading Hills?"

rode to Pittsfield clost on the bank of the river and a very good rode arrived at Chester Whave is a very good store of goods kept took the left hand rode stop at E. Leonard's G. mountains whare we could get nothing but damag^d shad³ & potatoes rest^d the Horses arrived at 1 °Clock 18 miles started at 3½ °Clock started @ 3½ °Clock arrived at Nobles at 6 °Clock in the Town of Washington rainy afternoon and poor Fare NB this day came over the Green mountains which has the appearence of the uncleard mountains of the west Indies and some very high the chief parts of this days ride through mountains but the rode much better than could be expect^d


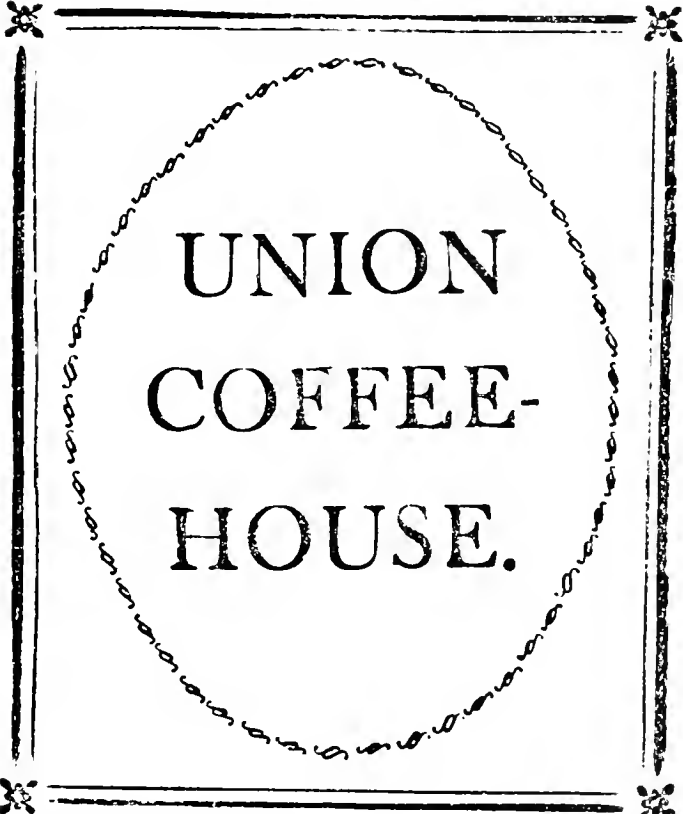
28th Started at 6½ °Clock for Mericks in Pittsfield arrived at 8½ °Clock 38 miles from Westfield Feading Hills came down one steap Hill 1 mile Long in the valley Pittsfield is situated a very pleasent place and land good, found good far. Started at 10 °Clock at 12½ °Clock arriv'd at Colts in Lebenon a good Hour clost by the Springs went up and took a view of them and aperd to be good Boarding came over a mountain S^d to be 1¼ mile and in some places very steap walk up when on top ther is one of the handsomest prospect that I ever saw the farms abought Lebenon laying on the side of a hill opposite the mountain walk^d down hill it being so steap did not think it safe to ride and gave us a good swet it being very hot 7½ miles from Mericks. started from Colts at 3½ °Clock a good hour. arrived at Coons 20 miles at 9 °Clock a dam^d Durty ugly house and no accomadations. N.B. 2 miles farther towards the City of Albany is a very good house rides good

29th Started at 6½ °Clock crost the Ferrey arrived at Skinners in Albaney at 8½ °Clock pleasent Weather 7 miles much disapponted in the vew of the City the harbour

3. Rough copy states: "dined upon dam bad shad and potatoes"



S. DEMAREST.



UNION
COFFEE-
HOUSE.

FORMERLY SIGN OF THE LION,
WATERFORD—SARATOGA COUNTY.

is a very handsome elbow the Wharves all join except three gap ways for people to land a great many good stores on the wharves a great many old fashion Dutch Buildings some handsome Churches Started at 3 °Clock arrived at Pearces in Troy at 4 °Clock a very pleasant place and good stores here we crossed the Ferry 6 miles from Albany started at 6 °Clock for Lanungburg arrived at Johnson & Judsons Tavern a good house 3 miles from Troy

30th at 6 °Clock started crossed the ferry at Waterford where is almost capital Bridge a building 4 arches proceeded up to the Cohos on the Mohawk river took a view of the Falls the Banks on each side very high and almost perpendicular the rock that forms the fall is almost in a straight line across the river after taking a view returned to Waterford to Breakfast at S. Demarest Union Coffee House. at 9 °Clock started for Ballstown 20 miles stop at ⁴ tavern a poor house at 5½ °Clock arrived at Jesse Patchen a bought one half mile to the Northward of the Court House found it a pleasant place and land good —

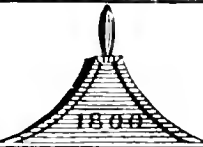
31st This morning took in M^{rs} Mawney⁵ and started for Ballstown springs 2 miles at which place found Moses Titcomb Esq^r of S^t Croix all most dead so low that scarcely to be under stood took a Drink of water view^d the place where are a number of most elegant Bording Houses then proceeded on for Saritoga 12 miles put up at M^r Lees inn took a drink of water view^d the spring & Bathing house dined took M^{rs} H. Tillinghast⁶ and proceed on to Northumberland. M^r Mawney & Almey⁷

4. The omission is Tillinghast's.

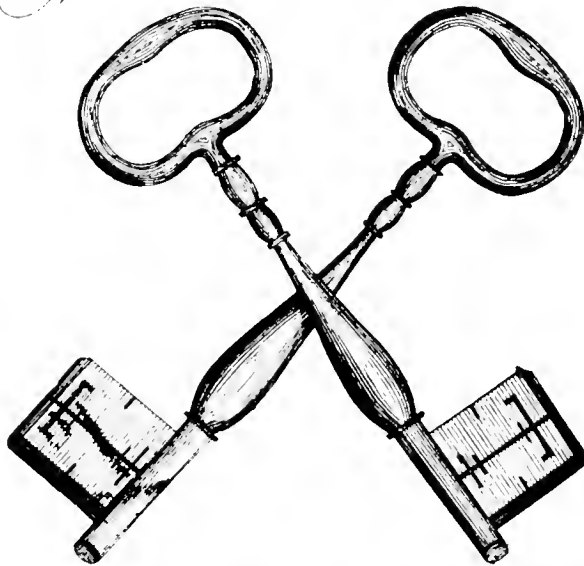
5. His wife's sister-in-law, wife of Peter Mawney (LeMoine) who died in Moreau, Saratoga County, New York in 1868 aged 95.

6. Mrs. Hannah (Mawney) Tillinghast wife of Nicholas (NT). After his death she married Jeffrey Davis of Davisville, being his second wife.

7. Mrs. William E. Tillinghast.



Johnson & Tudson's



HOTEL
Lansingburgh

returnd to Ballstown arrived early in the evening at Cap^t P. L. Mawney⁸ at Beach mapple wood 12 miles found Peter & Nickholas well⁹. Nichlas building a new House found a much plesent a place then I expect^d the rodes good but too narrow for our Carage the stumps interfering and the cross ways of logs maney of which we had to cross joilting most teribbey of which M^{rs} Tillinghast Complained the land of clay and coverd with a very thin mould. Timber Pine Hemlock & mapple.

Sep^r 1st This day walking round vewing the Cuntry at 9 °Clock tackled up went to sea Elisha Reynolds¹⁰ on the Bank of the North River 3 mile the bed of the river apperd to be entirly a flatt rock the river low and narrow a plenty of mud Tortoise found M^r Reynolds a very agreable man returnd at 12½ °Clock this afternoon a Justic Court held by Major Scovill at which a great many assembl^d and murderd Rum without discretion found the Cuntry dry and very poor warter in generall So Ends this day

2d this day begins with very foggey morning @ 9 °Clock clear & warm went to meating @ the School House clost at hand at 2 P M started for Glans Falls 8 miles one of the gratest curiositys that I have sean a number of Saw mills a good Brige and a wild looking place at 7 °Clock returnd Home and went to bed

Monday Sep^r 3^d This day begins with a foggey morning the midle part clear and very hot the latter part cloudy with light rain

Tuesday 4th Sept. This day at 10 °Clock started for Ballstown 22 miles stop at Homes & Kamp at Congress springs went to vew the same found then the most curios of any that I had sean their being a hole in the

8. Possibly son of Peter named Pardon (P. L. M.)

9. See notes 5 and 6

10. Descendant of Col. Elisha Reynolds of South Kingstown.

top of a Rock about 10 or 12 Inches diameter and four feet deep where we baled out the water after dinner started for Ballstown springs found on enquiry that M. Titcomb dec^d on Saturday morning at 2 o'clock from thence to M^r Patchens where I found Almey well that the spring water would not answer for her to make use of

Wednesday 5th This day went down to Balltown Court House to Training took a view of the Regiment returned to M^r Patchens to dinner and from their home and maid ready for a start in the morning

Thursday 6th This morning turned out at day light got Breakfast and started for Northumberland leaving Almey at M^r Patchen to recute arrived at 2 o'clock 20 miles

Friday 7. this forenoon employed in cleaning Harness & Chase weather hot & dry—this afternoon went up to view Fort Edward on the E. side of the N river found the remains of a large fort which appeared to be built of wood & dirt about 20 feet high and a trench of the same width. 5 miles

Saturday 8. This day went to Gen^l Training at M^r Hinckley's about 600 Troops girls plenty in the Barn a Dancing returned at 5½ o'clock plenty drunk this day 6½ mile Palmertown alias Northumberland

Sunday 9th This day very warm and dry went to meeting with M^r. E. Reynolds nothing worthy of notice this day"

Monday 10 this day begins very foggy and thick heavy—are made a Jack. help N. Tillinghast pack up his things and move to his own house in the afternoon put the mare in the Gig carried Hannah up found it late concluded to tarrey so Ends this day cloudy

Tuesday 11 This day begins with heavy rain, concluded in cording up Beadsteds making bed winch &c so Ends this day continuing rainy

Wednesday 12 This day begins with light spits of rain at 7 held up at 10 °Clock tackl^d up and retund to P. L. M. compl^d makeing hog pen & wash binch so Ends this day with cloudy weather

Thursday 13 This day commences with rainy weather the ground being clay makes it slippry as glass later part more moderate finish^d hog pen so ends this day

Friday 14 This day commence cloudy at 12 °Clock clear greast wheeals and started for Balltown with M^rs Mawney went in and took the shower bath at Lee's arrived at Balltown at sundown found A. T. so so

Saturday 15 This day fare weather tackl^d up took in Amey and proceded for Northumberland stop at Homes & Kamps after dinner proceded on stop at N. T arrived at P. L. M. at sunsett.

(To be continued)

The Records of Rhode Island.*

BY EDWARD H. WEST

In order to understand the records of a state, it would seem as if one should first understand something about the history of that state, so I want to speak on Rhode Island's history before we take up the records.

The people living outside New England know very little about its history, that is to say the details which are so different from those of other parts of this country. And in picking out New England as an example, I do not except other sections of this country. I imagine that the people of the Southern States, although well versed in the history of their own section, know very little about the history of the north western states, while the people of California know very little about the history of Michigan.

*Given at The National Genealogical Society, Washington, D. C., 19 March, 1938.

Of course we all learned a general idea of history before our high school days, but the time in school is too short to get any details, and when the time comes to look up ancestry, the history that we learned in school does not serve us very well.

One of my regrets is that there is practically no local history taught in the schools. Having occasion to go to Walpole, Massachusetts, some years ago, I found that the local historian there, who had written a very fine history of the town, every year presented a copy of the history to each high school graduate.

A genealogical book without any history in it makes rather dry reading, and this also applies to the family histories, written by so many people who seem to think that all that is necessary is to get dates. Do not be satisfied to write that such an ancestor was a colonel in the Revolution: find out what he did. If there were those who thought that he was not efficient, put that in as well as their reasons. Should an ancestor help to found a new town, then try to get some of the town records. Anything like this will brighten up a family story in a surprising manner.

Early in 1630, there came to Boston, from England, a woman who did much to start the Colony of Rhode Island. This woman was Anne Hutchinson, who, with her husband, came over to what they supposed was a place for religious freedom, but they were mistaken. Boston did allow religious freedom as long as you worshiped in the way that the judges and ministers said, but in no other way. It is doubtful if even the most advanced theological student of today can fully understand the differences in the beliefs of the early settlers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Anne Hutchinson was born much too soon, for she believed in a woman's taking part in the religious discussions. She started to explain the sermons of the Sunday before to a few woman friends, and gradually the circle grew, until at times there were as many as eighty persons, both men and women, at her meetings. This did not suit the

ministry of Boston, as her opinions did not coincide with theirs. Time will not permit us to go into the matter with any detail, but it is enough to say that there were many debates, court trials, church trials, the ex-communication of Anne Hutchinson, and more debates, until finally the General Court gave orders that the heads of the families of Anne Hutchinson's followers, about seventy five in number, were to be disarmed, "in order to prevent riots."

These men were of all walks of life, some were members of the General Court, some merchants, while others were artisans.

It would seem as if some of these men had discussed the founding of a new colony even before the order of disarmament came, and it is supposed that these meetings took place at the house of William Coddington, who was probably the richest man of them all.

Dr. John Clark was one of the men who started off to find a site for their new colony, and they eventually chose what is now known as the Island of Rhode Island.

Originally they intended to settle on Long Island or else in Delaware, but by the advice of Roger Williams, they looked at the Island of Aquidneck, and after finding from Plymouth that the Island was not in their patent, they bought the Island from the Indians. The Colony of Rhode Island arose, not from any grant by the king, but by purchases.

Before leaving Boston, these men signed their Compact, and elected their officers.

The first town meeting in their new home was held 13 May 1638, and from that date to the present, we have an uninterrupted set of records.

At first all business was transacted at the town meetings, held quarterly, with many special meetings. But as the Colony grew, these meetings became too unweildly to transact everything, and so a Town Council was formed which transacted much of the business of the town, including the duties of a Probate Court.

At the early town meetings many laws were made, some of them being still in force. The land laws are very interesting, and were changed as the occasion demanded.

One of the early laws concerned the price of land on the Island, which was set at two shillings per acre, which price was used as long as there was any land left to sell.

Because there was not an unlimited amount of land on the Island as there was on the mainland, the farms were comparatively small, but the land was all used, while on sections of the mainland, where large grants were given, much of the land was not used, and is not even today.

Eventually, as the number of inhabitants grew, land east of Connecticut was purchased and added to the Colony, this being settled by men from the Providence Plantations as well as men from the Island.

The first records of Rhode Island are to be found in Providence in a book containing the Compact, copies of the deeds of land purchased from the Indians, early lists of Freemen of the Colony, and many land grants and transactions of the early settlers. This book contains records from 1638 to about 1696.

There are also many other early records in Providence, all in charge of the Secretary of State. These consist of all records of the General Assembly, several books of land evidence, a very complete set of Revolutionary and Maritime records, and thousands of petitions to the General Assembly, embracing every cause possible.

The first book of Portsmouth shows signs of wear, as some of its pages have been torn, and probably others are missing. This book contains the records of the early town meetings, as well as some deeds and wills. Here too are the first grants, so called. Not really grants, but assigned lots which were paid for.

From this book to date the town meeting records are complete, as are also the town council records.

The first book of Land Evidence covers transactions in land from 1646 to 1704. There are also a few wills in

this book. As some of the early grants and deeds were in Providence, John Sanford was ordered, in 1657, to transcribe them into the Portsmouth book. He died that year, and nothing was done about it until 1930, when the Town Council of Portsmouth, through the efforts of your speaker, appropriated money for photostats of these records. Portsmouth has now practically a complete set of land records.

The records of Newport are not in such good shape as those of Portsmouth, and with good reason. When the British left Rhode Island, the records were taken with them by the Tory Town Clerk of Newport. The vessel on which these records were carried was sunk off Hell Gate, and although she was soon raised and towed in, the records were wet. Newport sent a protest to the British officers in New York, and the records were returned, but in all probability the boxes were not opened at once. In fact it was a number of years after that the Town Council of Newport hired a man to separate the pages. These records have all been mounted in silk, and it is very interesting to see the results of the salt water on the various kinds of paper and ink. Some of the records are as legible as the day on which they were written, while others are faded completely.

Middletown, set off from Newport in 1744, has a complete set of records. In one of the Town Council books, the Town Clerk is ordered, in 1776, to place the records in a safe place, if danger threatens, which he probably did as they are still in existence.

The Island of Rhode Island was occupied by the British for three years, and they burned and tore down many buildings, but some one looked after the records, and by his foresight we have them today. It has always been a source of wonderment to me where the Portsmouth records were hidden during the occupation, as that town lost more buildings than either of the others. Besides the books of records there were many loose papers, and it would have been well, if all those in charge of records, in different parts of the country in after years, had followed the example

set by these town clerks of Rhode Island, and guarded their records.

One very interesting page in both the Town Meeting and Town Council books of Portsmouth, is written in a very large and flowing hand, and undated. It reads—

“On Sunday ye 8th Day of December A.D. 1776 About Eight Thousand Troops landed and took possession of the Island and Remained until Monday ye 25th Day of October A.D. 1779, for which time the Inhabitants were greatly Oppressed.”

It is not necessary to state that during the occupation, no town business was transacted.

When I say the records are complete, I do not mean the vital records, although these are very much better than in most of the other sections of the country. Almost at the very first, both Rhode Island and Massachusetts passed laws for the recording of births, marriages and deaths, but there were no teeth in these laws and they were not enforced. Some of the people recorded everything, while others did not bother at all. I know of one man who recorded the births of half his children and his marriage, at one time, but did not go back to record the births of the rest of his children. In 1850 Rhode Island passed another law regarding these vital records, so from that time the records are nearly complete.

The unit of government in Rhode Island was the town. Therefore all records pertaining to any one town are to be found in that town. This would seem to make it harder to trace people when compared to the county government of other states, and this is true in regards to travel. But the town council records with their inventories, wills and other probate papers, give information with an intimacy which is not found in the county records of other states.

The records of Bristol County, Little Compton and Tiverton start in 1747, as before that date those towns were in Massachusetts, where the earlier records are to be found. One has but to compare the probate records of these

towns before and after 1747 to see the truth of my former statement.

North Kingston had a fire which damaged its early records, and although they have been repaired, many of the pages are oval in shape, and this in many cases, results in the loss of the name or date. This town is a hard one to work in, but if one sticks to it, a great deal can be found.

Two books of the town of Richmond are missing, and the story about this is that the town clerk of that period was very eccentric and kept the records in a box under a window. This caused talk among the town's people who wished their records kept in a safer place. They formed a committee to visit the town clerk and to reason with him. When he saw the men approaching he started to burn the books, and this is supposed to account for the missing books.

In the Providence city hall is a very fine collection of old papers called the Providence Town Papers. These comprise bills, receipts, deeds, laws, and all kinds of records imaginable, not only of the town of Providence, but of the whole state. These are mounted in silk and are indexed by subjects.

I will give one instance in which these papers were very valuable to me. Capt. Jonathan Brownell, who raised the first militia company in Portsmouth at the start of the Revolution, disappeared after the British troops came to Portsmouth, and I was unable to find any trace of him for several years, when he enlisted in Freetown. As I knew a man of his calibre would not hide, and as I could find no record of him with the Rhode Island troops, it was long a puzzle to me as to what had become of him during those years. A Quaker by birth, he was dismissed from meeting on account of having raised troops.

In the above mentioned Providence Town Papers, I found that he had come to Providence and had been taken down with the small-pox. There was a bill for doctor's care, nursing and medicine, and also the information that he had worked off most of this bill by going to war as sub-

stitute for Moses Brown, a very prominent Rhode Island Quaker.

The Friends Records in Newport date from 1657, and a vast amount of information is to be found in them.

I would like to show here a few of the early Portsmouth records.

In regard to land, the following law was passed in 1638: "It is ordered and agreed upon that every man's allotment recorded in this book shall be sufficient evidence for him and his, rightly to possess and enjoy."

At a General Court of Elections, Portsmouth, May 1647, is shown how these men regarded their records, and their feeling is not matched, to my knowledge, any where in this country.

"Be it enacted by these present Assemblie, that the General Recorders office shall be in General, to have Coppies of all the records or Acts of the Generall Assemblie, Generall and particular Courts of Judicature, Rolls of the Freemen of the Colonie, Records, Sales and Bargains of Land, Wills and Testaments, and orders of the Townsmen touching the Intestate, Records of the Limetts and Bounds of Towns, their Highways, Driftways, Commons and Fencing, Privileges and Liberties. And for as much as matters of greatest concernment ought to be kept and preserved with the greatest vigilance: Be it enacted that the Generall purchases (which are all we can show for our right to our Lands) and the Charter (which is that which gives us who are Subjects, right to exercise authority over one another) be kept in a strong chest, having four several Locks annexed thereto, and that each town keep a key thereof, that so as there is a common right and interest therein, there may be no access unto them in a divided way (lest also they be divided) but with a common consent. And let it further be enacted, that this chest be kept in the safest place in the Colonie: and the Generall Recorder, also, should have the key to the Room in which it is placed."

It might be well to speak about the Rhode Island Char-

ters. The one mentioned in the above record is the first charter. The second charter was granted in 1663. Much has been written about the Connecticut Charter and how it escaped the clutches of Andros, by way of the famous oak tree, but very little is heard of the Charter of Rhode Island, which is acknowledged to have been the most liberal of that of any of England's colonies. To be sure Andros demanded it, but never saw it. It was lost, found, on the way, lost again, and all kinds of excuses made, but it was safely hidden, and probably no one today knows where it really was during those troublesome years of Andros' reign. That it was safely hidden is shown by the fact that today it hangs, in a special safe, in the office of the Secretary of the State of Rhode Island.

In 1656 a law was passed forbidding any person to sell any liquor to an Indian, either "directly or indirectly," and it was made lawful for any person who met an Indian with liquor, to take it away from him.

In the early days strangers were not looked upon as desirable unless they bought land, or else brought a certificate from their last legal place of abode, which showed, that in time of need, they would be taken back again. Those old settlers intended to keep their relief problems at a minimum.

In 1654 it was ordered "that no inhabitant shall entertain any Sojourner above one month without the approbation of the Towne."

In 1658 it is ordered "that Roger Williams shall have liberty of the Towne for to live with William Wodell house till the 5th of November en-suen the date hereof: and no longer by the Towne order."

In this Colony, Church and State were not united, and a man could worship as he saw fit, or not at all. This was looked upon as sinful by Massachusetts, and in 1695, Cotton Mather wrote "I believe there never was held such a variety of religions together on so small a spot as have been in that Colony" and again "the condition of the

rising generation upon that Island is indeed lamentable." You can see by this that even in those days there was a "Youth Problem."

Real money was scarce, and in a tax list of 1671 it is seen that taxes were paid in wool, wampum, homespun cloth and cheese.

In 1713 a small piece of land on Watch Hill was left public "whereon the watch house now or late standeth." In 1733 two men petitioned the town for the use of this land for a wind mill. The town granted the request with the understanding that in time of war they could "build a watch house thereon for the defense and safety of the town."

After the Declaration of Independence was made and signed, copies were sent to each colony. That received by Rhode Island was copied by Southwick the printer, of Newport, and one of these printed copies was sent to each town, there to be read at a special town meeting. It was my good fortune to find the copy sent Portsmouth, and it is now framed and hanging in the Town Clerk's office, the only known copy in existence. In the records of the town meeting held 27 August 1776, is written in small, uphill writing, "the Declarayion of Independence was publically read."

As you have heard, the Island was occupied by the British, and some of the inhabitants suffered severely at their hands, but worse at the hands of the Tories. After the British troops left, the land of the Tories was confiscated, and it would seem as if pressure was brought to bear upon the State to return this land. The following shows how this idea was received by Portsmouth.—

At a Town Meeting held 16 April 1783, the following instructions were given to the Deputies to the General Assembly—

"You will to the utmost of your power oppose all attempts that may or Shall be made to Induce or Persuade this State to make good or deliver up the Confiscated prop-

erty of persons who in this our late Contest with Britain have born arms against the United States, of America, or have Directly or Indirectly assisted Great Britain in her attempt to Subjacate America, or that has Deserted the Cause of America and taken Refuge or Sanctuary under the Crown or Dominion of the King of Great Britain or his arms."

"You will endeavor to get an Act passed at the General Assemblie to prevent all persons formerly Inhabitants of the United States who have born arms against the United States of America, or that have Directly or Indirectly assisted Great Britain in her late attempt to Subjacate America, or that has deserted the Cause of America and taken refuge or Sanctuary under the Crown or Dominion of the King of Great Britain or his arms, from becoming Citizens of this State or Inhabitants thereof or Residing therein."

This town meeting must have been a rather lively one although nothing is said about it in the records, but in the record of the following meeting we find—"Voted that the advice that Weston Hicks, Esquire, gave the town at the Town Meeting in April last, Respecting Refugees, Toryes and persons Disafected to the Present Government, was good and wholesome and tended to preserving of peace and good Order in the Town and the abovesaid meeting, and was Delivered by said Hicks in a Manner becoming a good Politician and a friend to his country and a Christian."

Probably one of the most peculiar records to be found in any town is in our scrap book in the Town Clerk's office. No one knows how it ever got in with the town papers, but there it is and no doubt will remain forever. It is entitled "A list of my fitts, to be given to my husband after I am gone," Then follows a long list of dates with the notation "I had a fitt" or "I had two fitts." This goes on for several years, and finally in a different handwriting is the fact that on that date, the writer of the list, "died in a fitt."

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New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

Mrs. Vera B. Hanson of Cranston has presented to the Society a typewritten genealogy of the family of John Irish many of whose descendants lived in Rhode Island.

First Presbyterian Church, Newport, R. I., 1888-1938, Fifty Years of History, is a pamphlet of 65 pages.

The Old Fall River Line by Roger W. McAdams is a volume of 190 pages.

Dorr Pamphlet No. 2, The Constitutional Convention That Never Met by Zechariah Chafee, Jr., is a pamphlet of 88 pages, published by the Booke Shop, Providence.

The Hero of Aquidneck, A Life of Dr. John Clarke by Wilbur Nelson, is a volume of 95 pages.

Cities in the Wilderness, including a study of colonial Newport, by Carl Bridenbaugh, was issued in December.

A Record of William Coddington, Esquire, by Elizabeth Nicholson White is a pamphlet of 24 pages.

Notes

Mrs. Philip C. Wentworth has been elected to membership in the Society.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXXII

APRIL, 1939

No. 2



FRANCIS WAYLAND

From Portrait in Sayles Hall

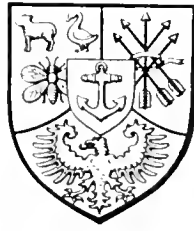
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RHODE
HISTORICAL



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SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXXII

APRIL, 1939

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WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER, *Secretary*

ROBERT T. DOWNS, *Treasurer*
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The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

Francis Wayland

1796 - 1865

President of Brown University and
Citizen of Providence

By WILLIAM GREENE ROELKER*

The history of Providence during the thirty-eight years of Francis Wayland's residence shows that he was not only a successful president of Brown but a leading citizen.

As President of the University (1827-1855) he raised the standard of teaching to a high plane¹ and materially developed Brown's resources. His own rise from humble circumstances had strengthened his belief in the right of every man to an equal opportunity in the business world, before the law, and in the halls of education. His whole

*A paper read before the Rhode Island Historical Society.

¹ Justice Joseph Story of the Harvard law faculty said "that he could at once distinguish a graduate of Brown University by the facility with which he was able to analyze a lecture or a legal argument." Francis and H. L. Wayland, *A Memoir of the Life and Labors of Francis Wayland* (N. Y., 1867), I, 236. Unless otherwise indicated quotations will be from the *Memoir*.

philosophy of life was expressed in his motto, "I go for the human race."

Liberty and knowledge, in the opinion of the day, were necessary for the success and preservation of American democracy. Wayland took a more advanced position. In this he differed from Jefferson, Ticknor and Eliot, other proponents of the elective system. They were primarily interested in providing the best quality of education for students,—few or many,—who came to Virginia or Harvard seeking the higher learning. Wayland believed that each individual student should have the opportunity of pursuing such studies as would be of the greatest advantage to him in the course of life which he chose.

In pursuit of his ideal, Wayland initiated an elective system at Brown (1850), so arranged, that "every student might study what he chose, all that he chose, and nothing but what he chose."² This experiment started a controversy which has taken on new life in the present era of changing concepts about democracy and education. Whether the final judgment of Wayland will be that of Charles William Eliot, that he deserved a high place among the founders of the elective system, or that of Samuel Eliot Morison, who believes that Wayland's educational writings in favor of the addition of vocational training to the curriculum produced more mischief than any other tracts in the history of American education, it remains true that the fearless and self reliant thinking of Wayland precipitated an agitation which resulted in far-reaching educational modifications.³ In a period when American education was undergoing a drastic change of form, he was, at least in the opinion of Dr. Thwing, one of the few college presidents who could also be called an educator.⁴

² *Report to the Corporation of Brown University, 1850* (Providence, 1850), 51.

³ James Burrill Angell, "Founder's Day at Chicago," *Selected Addresses* (N. Y., 1912), 132.

⁴ Charles F. Thwing, *A History of Higher Education in America* (N. Y., 1906), 316.

From the day of his arrival in Providence, Wayland identified himself with every enterprise which sought to promote the prosperity and sound morals of the community. He was a good citizen. He was chairman of the committee which reorganized the public schools (1828), an original trustee of Butler Hospital (1844-64), an organizer of the Rhode Island Hospital (1863), a founder of the Providence Dispensary (1829), active in prison reform, and in peace and temperance movements. In every public enterprise Wayland's "presence was felt as no other man's was. All waited to hear the utterances of his voice," said Dr. Caswell. "It may justly be said that he stood among us as the first citizen of Rhode Island."

Francis Wayland was born in New York City (1796) three years after his father emigrated from Fromme, Somerset, England. Francis Senior, a successful currier, quickly allied himself with a group of Baptists, who encouraged him to give up business to devote himself to the unremunerative life of a traveling preacher. Francis received his early education from his mother. She inspired him with an abhorrence of religious intolerance which characterized his whole life. Before entering Union College (Schenectady) as a sophomore (1811), he was a pupil of Daniel H. Barnes, one of the few real teachers of the time. Wayland minimized his college achievements. Yet Eliphalet Nott, President for sixty-two years (1804-66) continued to show an interest in him which was justified by his successful career. For the next three years he continued a stimulating association with Dr. Eli Burritt of Troy, under whose guidance he received the medical instruction which enabled him to obtain a license to practice (1816). Up to this time Wayland had shown little interest in religious matters; but the evangelical atmosphere of his surroundings almost demanded of every individual a religious experience, leading to a "conversion" as the prerequisite to baptism and admission to church membership. A revival conducted by the Rev. Luther Rice (Troy, 1816) was the

occasion of Wayland's conversion. His call to the religious life was so strong that he immediately gave up medicine and entered Andover Theological Seminary.

Wayland never forgot the grinding poverty of his year at Andover. Nevertheless, he felt more than compensated by the intellectual inspiration and training which he received from Moses Stuart (Yale 1799) Professor of the Sacred Languages. Stuart taught him to reason and to study and by example confirmed him in the habit of appealing directly to his Maker for spiritual guidance. At the end of the term Wayland was saved from a desperate situation by an appointment as tutor at Union College. For the next four years he learned from Dr. Nott the unique teaching methods and principles of college administration which had placed Union in the vanguard of the colleges.

Encouraged by Dr. Nott, himself a famous preacher, who assisted him in the preparation of his sermons, and further stimulated by another revival conducted by the Rev. Asahel Nettleton, Wayland looked forward to the day when he would have a church of his own. An opportunity to preach in Boston led to an invitation to become the pastor of the First Baptist Church there. It was not an ideal situation, but Dr. Nott and Moses Stuart prevailed upon him to accept, since it would bring him nearer to Brown University, then the center of Baptist activities.

His pastorate was not entirely successful; the church did not prosper and the intellectual character of his sermons was unsuited to the congregation. But Wayland achieved a great personal success; the sermon on the *Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise* (1823) made him a national figure among the Baptists. Delivered at a time of great interest in foreign missions, it ran through many editions. In spite of his growing fame, or perhaps because of it, he resigned from his church to accept the Professorship of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics at Union College. Just at this time President Asa Messer was forced

to resign from Brown University and Wayland immediately became the leading candidate for the position.

All of Wayland's experience had prepared him for the position of college president. Moses Stuart had subjected him to severe intellectual training; Eliphalet Nott had given him practical schooling in the art of teaching and in educational administration; five years in the pulpit had made him a powerful speaker. As a teacher he was simply a cog in another man's machine; as a preacher he did not have the control of his congregation which his administrative talent demanded; as President he could put into practice his theories of education. The opportunity came. Wayland accepted. He was duly elected President of Brown University, December 1826.

The conditions at Brown were typical of the colleges of the day. Wayland's description is frequently quoted. "The condition of the college was not encouraging. The number of students was small. Discipline had been neglected. Difficulties had arisen between the president and the trustees, and between the president and some members of the faculty. In point of fact the college had not a high reputation in the community, and probably did not deserve it."

His sons wrote, "It is clearly evident that Dr. Wayland had a distinct and clearly defined idea of what a college should be and could be made, and he did not delay an instant to apply to his theory the test of practice. . . . There was no mild and moderate transition from lax discipline and unchecked license to strict enforcement of law. The reform was instant and radical, President Wayland had not been in office twenty-four hours before it was apparent to everybody that a new regime was already instituted."

Wayland made new college laws, "But the soul of the new regime was not a code but a man — intense, fearless, strong in intellect and will. The influence upon the students was tremendous. He had a vast amount of power in him, made effective by passion, wit, and a gift of trenchant

speech. . . .”⁵ His first reforms were designed to render study not a sham but a reality and discipline not a form but a fact.

The phrase “born teacher” is almost a synonym for Wayland. Up to this time a recitation system prevailed; the student was given a definite problem which he committed to memory or a passage to translate which he recited to the teacher. There was no attempt at reasoning, no discussion and review in class; the pupil was expected to depend on his memory alone.

One of the instructors of this period was accustomed to have the text book open before him, and as the student recited, to move his finger along the lines, striving to keep pace with the progress of the pupil. From time to time, as the recitation of the student outstripped the reading of the professor, he would look up — keeping his finger at the point which had been reached — and say, in a tone of mild reproof, “Not so fast; not quite so fast.” With the passage of the years a certain rate of progress was established and it came to be an unwritten law that neither student nor teacher would attempt to accelerate it.

Wayland introduced an entirely new system at Brown, one which he had learned from Eliphalet Nott at Union College. The first principle of the Wayland method is to

⁵ Walter C. Bronson, *A History of Brown University, 1764-1914* (Providence, 1914), 206.

“None but those who witnessed the changes he wrought can fully appreciate what he did for the college in its standard of scholarship, in the tone of its discipline, in the increase in means of instruction, and in the self sacrificing spirit which he infused alike into its instructors and its more immediate guardians. . . . He did not care especially to make the college popular, but he labored most earnestly to render it a school of thorough discipline and of sound education . . . he displayed an ability and devotion that awakened universal admiration. The benefactors and friends of the institution took new courage, and the merchants of Providence stirred by his appeals on the true usage of wealth, began their contributions for its advancement.” Obituary notice by Prof. Gammell, *New York Examiner and Chronicle*.

make the pupil understand the subject. To accomplish this, the student is required to make out an analysis or skeleton during study hour. In class he is expected to commence and, without assistance, proceed as long as may be required. In preparing in this manner the student is obliged to make himself master of the subject. He can lay aside the book and complete the train of thought in his own words. The object of an education is not, as many parents seem to believe, to get a student through college by going over a certain number of books, but to impart knowledge which shall be remembered, and to increase the intellectual capacity of the pupil by habitually calling into exercise as many of his powers and faculties as the circumstances of the case will permit. This will most certainly be attained by uniting the view of the whole subject with perfectly free discussions in the class room. Wayland's whole teaching creed may be summed up in his statement, "To hear a scholar say a lesson is not to educate him. He who is not able to leave his mark upon a pupil never ought to have one."

Wayland had great success as a teacher. Judge B. F. Thomas '34 said, "Others may speak and think of the writer and scholar, my tribute is to the great teacher; . . . one who has the rarer faculty of drawing out and developing the mind of another, and making him work for himself. Rarest of all God's gifts to men." Silas Bailey '34 wrote, "His progress through either of his favorite sciences was that of a prince through his own dominions." C. F. Thurber '27 wrote, "The new system was the exact antipode of that which it displaced. It was in harmony with the spirit of the age, and yet sufficiently original to be called 'Wayland's'."

In addition to his duties as teacher, every college president was called upon for a continual round of preaching, public speaking, visiting the sick and attending funerals. His most important duty was to secure the funds to finance his educational program. When Wayland came to Brown there were two buildings, University Hall and Hope Col-

lege. Largely through the gifts of Nicholas Brown⁶, he secured the erection of Manning Hall (1835) as a chapel and library, Rhode Island Hall (1840), for the departments of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, etc., a mansion house for the president, and the beautification of the college grounds.

Charles F. Thurber '27 reported that the library "was kept in one of the projection rooms in University Hall, and was almost a *terra incognita* to many of the students." Hon. Charles Evans Hughes '81 quotes Wayland as saying, "the library consisted of books 'old, few and miscellaneous — such in general, as had been gleamed by solicitation from private libraries, where they were considered as of no value.'"⁷

Wayland immediately began the improvement of the library by devoting certain college fees to the purchase of books. The corporation voted (1831) to raise the sum of \$25,000, the income only to be used to acquire books and philosophical apparatus. He was able to report to the corporation fourteen years later, a library of 20,000 volumes which in 1849 had grown to 30,000. Wayland had an interest in libraries generally; he was one of the founders of the Providence Athenæum, dedicated by him July 11, 1838 and it was his offer to the Town of Wayland (Mass.) of a gift of \$500, provided a similar amount was raised by

⁶ Nicholas Brown, the most influential trustee, and patron of the college, was a strong supporter of Wayland. When Wayland's nomination was being considered, Brown wrote him at Schenectady, "Should they [the Corporation] flatter me with the opportunity of making the nomination of him on whom their minds are so universally agreed, it will prove highly gratifying. And I shall take the liberty of using the name of the late Pastor of the First Baptist Church in Boston to which there will not be a dissenting voice." Letter from Nicholas Brown, Providence, R. I., to the Reverend and Mr. Francis Wayland, Jr., Oct. 13, 1826, in Brown University Archives.

⁷ *The Sesqui-Centennial of Brown University 1764-1914* (Providence, 1915), 181.

the people, which led to the starting of the Massachusetts free library system.⁸

Within a year of his coming to Providence Wayland was made chairman of a committee to consider the public school system. The report, written by Wayland, stated as its basic principle that if money is contributed by every citizen, the school system should be so arranged that every contributor should have an equal share of that instruction which "he assists to maintain."⁹ At this point, he asks a significant question, "Is not education a commodity which all classes want?" Why not then furnish it of such quality that all may enjoy it together? By furnishing valuable courses of public instruction the rich will enjoy its advantages and surely it cannot injure the middle classes or the poor. It is plain that his mind was even then working along the lines of a utilitarian education for all men according to their desires; a classical education for the men who wished to enter a profession, and a practical education for those who wished to equip themselves for a practical life. He was developing an educational philosophy which led him to say (1856), "We do well to revere the genius of Milton, Dante or Gœthe. *But there is talent in a cotton mill as well as in an epic.*"¹⁰

Busy as he was with university duties and civic activities and saddened by the death of his wife, Wayland found time to write. *The Elements of Moral Science* (1835) was designed to take the place in the schools and colleges of the works of William Paley which were unsatisfactory to Wayland because of their extreme utilitarianism. His success in striking a new note is shown by the comment of a friend:

⁸ "From this law, and from the action of Dr. Wayland which gave rise to it, have sprung the magnificent free libraries which now enrich Boston, Worcester," Editorial, *Boston Transcript*, July 8, 1916.

⁹ F. Wayland, Chairman, "Report of Committee on Public Schools, April 1828," *Barnard's American Journal of Education*, July 1828, III, 386-388.

¹⁰ *Address to Free Academy*, (Norwich, Conn., 1856).

"I give thanks to God, that I see nothing in you of that parleying with the world which is so fatal to Paley." The *Moral Science* was a success, reaching a circulation of over one hundred thousand copies. It was republished in England and translated into Sgau Karen, a language of southern Burma (1885).

The Elements of Political Economy (1837) never achieved the popularity of the *Moral Science*, probably because it was concerned with more controversial subjects. Wayland had the courage to advocate free trade, although Rhode Island in general and his trustees in particular, were the favored beneficiaries of the protective tariff.

Wayland was tired in the Spring of 1840 and with good reason. He went abroad in the summer to recuperate and to study European methods of education. His health prevented his going to Germany or Italy and he did not accomplish all that he hoped. But his trip had one very important effect; it made him "more doggedly a Democrat and a Puritan." Much that he saw seemed to him like a puppet show, even the burial of Napoleon's remains in the Hotel des Invalides, — and he was a great admirer of Napoleon. Versailles gave him an impression of "royal magnificence," the gardens most of all, "But the whole cost . . . forty millions sterling. This sum would have constructed thirteen canals each as expensive as the Erie Canal, and would before this time have doubled or trebled the wealth of France."

He did not think much of the French, "All my dealing with them has shown me more and more their disposition to lying and dishonesty. . . . They treat Americans better than they do Englishmen. The one they cheat kindly, the other surlily but both are considered, I think, in the nature of victims." Of which remark J. R. Dennet wrote, "One would almost think him a Frenchman describing New York."¹¹

¹¹ *The Nation*, V November 28, 1867, 430.

Wayland was away from familiar surroundings for the first time and the strangeness of everything emphasized his opinion "that Americans know not their own mercies." All the pomp and show, — he stood in a gallery while the royal *cortege* and the peers and peeresses passed on their way to the opening of Parliament by Queen Victoria — brought out the innate Puritan in him. "I love simple manners, simple tastes, a simple government, which has very little to do, which leaves everything possible to be done by the individual, and which stimulates talent of every kind, not by patronage, but by giving talent free exercise, and leaving it to its own resources; a government of which the constitution may remain firm as adamant, while the men who administer it may be changed every year by the popular will."

In all considerations of Wayland's reactions to Europe it must be remembered that he came from plain stock and that he was a Baptist. "We are a *middling-interest* people," he said, "and there is no better interest. It is most absurd for us to aim at the aristocracy; they do not want our kind of religion." Although Wayland was the leading Baptist of his day he held fast to the nonsectarian policy on which Brown was founded. He once said in chapel, "In addressing you, I am of no sect."

Wayland was a democrat, — spelled with a small d. Every class division, every evidence of control by government which imposed on the rights of the individual was contrary to that spirit which made him adopt as his watchword, "I go for the human race."

With such a creed it is easy to understand his reactions to Oxford with its beautiful buildings set in lovely grounds. "It is a place where you would love to dwell," he said. "But when one reflects on the immense wealth of its establishment and remembers that this was designed to promote the prosecution of science and the advancement of learning, and not for the cultivation of luxurious ease; when one remembers that it was for the education of the people of England, and not a part of them, and that it is now used for

the good of a part, and is the avenue to all social and professional standing, I cannot think of it with unmixed respect. It seems to me a monstrous perversion. . . . I do not speak of the present incumbents . . . but of the system. Of this I cannot speak in terms of too great disapprobation. It seemed to me to be cultivating narrowness rather than expansiveness of mind, and to be conferring rather a fragment of education than an enlarged view of human knowledge."

Wayland was resentful of such a system, one which denied his fundamental belief in the equal rights of man. All of his inborn democratic instincts cried out against any such limitation and forced him to the proclamation of the keystone principle of his creed: "No man can be denied the right to such an education as he may choose." Democracy supposes that the object of society is simple, that it is to confirm every man in the enjoyment of all the innocent results of the use of his faculties. Beyond this, democratic society does not interfere. It leaves the individual to work out his own destiny; every man is the architect of his own fortunes; to such a man knowledge is a matter of imperative necessity.¹²

Sixty years later Charles Evans Hughes thus described Wayland's position: "To Wayland's prophetic eye the educational scheme of the time appeared far from satisfactory. He had the vision of democracy and of its educational as well as spiritual needs. He had little patience with the fetters of the old curriculum, and was not content with such advance as had been made in enlarging the scope of college work. . . ."¹³

On his return from Europe Wayland attempted to introduce the system of free electives which he had been nursing in his mind for many years. At first he had high hopes of success. The trustees went through the motions of appointing committees to study his recommendations.

¹² *Education Demanded by the People of the United States* (Schenectady, 1854), 22.

¹³ *The Sesqui-Centennial of Brown University*, 183.

But as time passed and nothing was done he became discouraged and resigned at Commencement, September 1849. He probably did not intend to go through with it, but the trustees completely surrendered and he agreed to remain provided he could reorganize the college on his own plan.

A committee was appointed to raise \$125,000, the amount which he felt would be necessary to carry out his plans, and in due course the money was secured, though not without the usual struggle. Another committee, of which Wayland was chairman, submitted an elaborate plan of reorganization, March 8, 1850.

We need not here concern ourselves with the details of this plan which included the establishment of a law school, a normal school, an agricultural school, and the payment of the professors on a fee basis. The important provision was that *every student might study what he chose, all that he chose, and nothing but what he chose.*

This plan broke wide open the "straitjacket" of the classical education; it established a free elective system nineteen years before Eliot was elected president of Harvard and a third of a century before he was able to announce that the plan was effective. It was not original with Wayland, — Jefferson, Ticknor, and Nott had the same ideas. It was Wayland's good luck and the good fortune of the cause of broader education that he had been for twenty-two years a successful president of Brown University. In addition he had been for years at the head of every forward movement in Rhode Island. He was accustomed to lead and others to follow. Without these advantages, Wayland never would have been able to institute such radical changes in an eighty-year old University in a conservative community like Providence.

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¹⁴ Limitations of space prevent a complete discussion of the results of Wayland's experiment. For a brief summary see page 53.

We have briefly reviewed Wayland's career. Let us now see what kind of man he was. It is not easy to answer that question directly. The principal sources of material are the *Memoir* written by his sons two years after his death, and various laudatory discourses delivered by intimate friends. Of the *Francis Wayland*, by a pupil James O. Murray '50, Sidney S. Rider wrote, "there appears to be in it nothing not before known. It is a picture of Wayland in his Sunday clothes. His was a rugged character in many ways and would well bear exhibition. Why not give us a look at him as he was?" We shall try to read between the lines of the published material, — unfortunately most of the original correspondence has disappeared, — to attempt to find the real Wayland.

Let us examine him through the eyes of one who knew him intimately, his pupil and colleague, later well known as the President of the University of Michigan, James B. Angell, Brown '49. "No one could look upon that tall spare form, which had not then attained the corpulence of later years, upon that massive forehead, those piercing dark eyes glancing through the shaggy over-hanging brows, that prominent nose, and those firm lips, without feeling instinctively that Dr. Wayland was born to command."¹⁵ Many observers commented on his striking countenance, which would have made him "an admirable model for *Jupiter Tonans*." His step was elastic, his form erect and his bearing manly and dignified. His massive frame never made him slow, "he was more rapid in motion and utterance than smaller men, as a planet goes swifter than a dart. In his momentum the velocity was equal to the weight."¹⁶ The spirit which animated him seemed to lift him above everything selfish and mean, he impressed himself on all who came within the sphere of his influence, and his very appear-

¹⁵ James B. Angell, "The Late President Wayland," *Hours at Home*, December 1865, II, 189.

¹⁶ Cyrus Augustus Bartol, "The Good Man," *Monthly Religious Magazine*, November 1865, XXXIV, 265.

ance gave him an ascendance over others which ensured their obedience. His influence over young men arose partly from his magnetic presence, but mainly from that "imperial spirit corresponding with the external presence, the existence and power of which everyone perceived who came in contact with him."¹⁷ Through the turgid Victorian eloquence of the Rev. Cyrus Augustus Bartol shines a vivid personality of great force. Many there are who say that no idea of the man can be gleaned from his writings, that no summary of his personal characteristics can convey any adequate picture of him. "What power there is in his very presence," wrote John L. Diman '51, "defying all description, as the most speaking faces defy the art of the photographer, what reserved force, sleeping in silent depths till stirred by great occasion . . . the terrific frown that clouds his brow, those grand unbidden rushes of emotion that would sometimes shake his great frame and choke his utterance"¹⁸ "He was a king by divine anointing," said Cyrus A. Bartol — "one of those few whose aspects drew attention and fixed every eye. From some persons we know not how, by a sort of elemental energy, a thrill passes. A slight shudder, half of fear, half of strange attraction goes through us in their presence. Besides Daniel Webster I know not who else . . . was so charged for this galvanic shock . . . the judgment seat, shone in his eyes . . . nobody could doubt *he* was President . . . this gift thus nursed into a virtue was the secret of his extraordinary success in his administration."

Wayland's magnetism served him well in his hours of ease. His healthy nature, full of joyousness and genial impulses showed itself in sparkling wit and quick repartee, "silver facings on the garment of duty," said his associate Professor George I. Chace. "Once freed from official

¹⁷ *Barnard's American Journal of Education*, December 1863, XIII, 775.

¹⁸ John L. Diman, "The Late President Wayland," *Atlantic Monthly*, January 1868, XXI, 70.

harness his intercourse with all was marked by geniality of conversation and manner," wrote William L. Stone, "his sense of the ludicrous was most keen . . . his appreciation of wit in others was quick and his quiet drollery irresistible." Wayland did not go often into society, but he had a very real sense of the social obligations incident to his position as president. Most of the persons of literary prominence who visited Providence were invited to his house and it was his regular practice to gather round him his colleagues and others who came to consult him in regard to the affairs of the college. On such occasions, related Professor Gammell, "his rare social powers showed to great advantage," then his conversation was brilliant, he called on the vast fund of anecdotes and stories of which he had such a store as has "often given celebrity to literary men as 'Table Talkers.'"

Work came first with Wayland; he was in the habit of saying, "Nothing can stand before days' works." He wrote of himself, "I am a perfect dray-horse. I am in harness morning to night and from one year to another and am never turned out for recreation." As a matter of fact he preferred to work no matter how much he might say to the contrary. His wife wrote, "Your brother is well but constantly occupied. . . . He has too much love of work not to be always busy. He never has any leisure, for if others fail in the performance of their duties, he supplies the deficiency by additional labor on his own part." His real feelings appear in the obvious anger shown in his letter to Dr. Stowe from London (1841), "I do not think any minister has any right to spend six months in Europe for the mere purpose of sight-seeing. All talk about mental improvement is merest fudge, . . . if I live to return I shall set my face against the practice as wicked." This continuing sense of personal responsibility governed all his actions but he did not know how to break away. "Were I my own man, with power to arrange my time for myself, and to throw off care at intervals, . . . I could do twice what I do, and be as elastic as need be." From a modern point of view this is

merely wishful thinking, for had he the inclination there is no doubt that he could have made the necessary arrangements with the corporation which gave him such splendid support.

Gardening, walking, and wood chopping were the only relaxations he permitted himself. Wayland was a born gardener, and he was never more happy nor appeared to better advantage than when among the flowers and vegetables which he cultivated with his own hands. His garden diary and correspondence are very human documents, filled with such entries as, "Beans picked today, beets in a day or two" and "I must acknowledge that you beat us in Hubbard squashes." Like all real gardeners he entertained his friends by showing them the products of his skill and labor, the first green peas, the last and most beautiful dahlia; hardly a visitor left his gate without some trophy pressed on him by his enthusiastic host. In the winter he sawed wood or took a walk in the country. He was not a solitary walker, walking for the joy of it; he always wanted company, choosing for his companions members of the faculty. "In these walks . . . he would often do all the talking himself, especially when accompanied only by his juniors"

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During his life and since men have commented on the freshness of Wayland's mind; just recently President Wriston who had been reading *Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States*, spoke of Wayland's fresh approach to the old problem of education. His sons, Francis '46 and Heman Lincoln '49, both his pupils, wrote "perhaps no quality of his mind was more striking than its freshness. He had no traditional anecdotes handed down from class to class."

It was not until middle life that Wayland wrote on moral philosophy and moral science, subjects which he had been teaching for many years. "When I commenced the undertaking I attempted to read extensively, but soon found it

so difficult to arrive at any definite results in this manner that the necessities of my situation obliged me to rely upon my own reflection."¹⁹

The explanation of Wayland's self-dependence lies in his theory of knowledge. He agreed with Locke that knowledge of matter came from perception and knowledge of mind from consciousness. But he believed that the mind is further endowed with a suggestive power from which arise intuitive cognitions, *occasioned* by the ideas of consciousness and perception, but neither produced by them nor in any sense similar to them.²⁰ These original suggestions, which are clear and definite, lie at the foundation of all subsequent knowledge. "We know them to be true, without the intervention of any other media. The intellect with which we are created vouches for their truth and we cannot conceive of them to be false."²¹ In this statement lies the explanation of an answer made to a student who would not accept any demonstration of the truth of a certain axiom. Wayland said, "How do we know it to be true? By our own innate, inborn, gumption."

Wayland's mind was essentially practical and in his writings little attention is given to purely speculative questions. He unfolds and illustrates important truths, which "in ethics and for the most part in metaphysics," as Professor Chace says, "approximate so closely to intuition that little is needed beyond their exact and clear statement. . . . The most extended inference to be found in all his writings is covered by his favorite word 'hence'"

Wayland's ethics are developed from Bishop Butler's theory of the conscience and a strict interpretation of the Scriptures. The conscience, Wayland believed, is an intuitive faculty of the mind by which the moral quality of any

¹⁹ Francis Wayland, *The Elements of Moral Science* (Boston, 1835), Preface, 5.

²⁰ Francis Wayland, *The Elements of Intellectual Philosophy* (Boston, 1854), 137.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 174.

action is discerned. Every act of man affects the happiness and rights of another. If the nature of such an action is candidly considered, its moral quality will be perceived; it is either right or wrong. The conscience has an impulse and a subjective affection to do right and to so restrict one's actions as not to interfere with the happiness of others.

* * * *

Following the principles of his teacher Moses Stuart, Wayland placed the Bible at the mast head of his faith. Professor Chace reports him as saying, "Any doubt concerning Christianity as a pillar of hope would be to me a greater calamity than the sinking of a continent." Chace expressed his own opinion that "It was only in the moral nature of man supplemented by the new forces imported into it by Christianity that he [Wayland] found assured ground for faith in man's continued progress." He wrote, "The gospel is radical enough for me," for "the ideas of revelation are not human but divine ideas, the conceptions of the infinite God. It seems to me they are not subjects for human logic and that by applying reason to them we are led into an absurdity." He stood firmly by the teachings of the Bible and believed the greatest advance of which man was capable was secured by obedience to "the inspired wisdom."

Wayland based his daily judgments on God. "He was pre-eminently a *praying man*. He talked with God. To the last day of my life shall I remember that great frame bending at my side, and that *beseeking* voice, and that *importunate* pouring forth from the depths of his soul, such prayer as only he could frame . . . he talked with God," wrote the Rev. W. McKenzie. Isaac Davis, who traveled with Wayland in Europe, reported that he tested every action, saying, "Davis, if Christ were on earth and present here would he attend this exhibition?"

* * * *

"At the top of College Hill Dr. Wayland was ruling with a rod of iron," writes an old graduate. Wayland acquired a reputation as a stern disciplinarian and a hard task master. In his defense it is only fair to quote a contemporary opinion, "If the rules of labor and conduct which he enforced, were sometimes deemed unduly severe, they were such as he prescribed for himself and which he consistently followed." Congdon '41 writes, "He was disobeyed in fear and trembling . . . he had a heavy foot for a student's door when it was not promptly opened after his official knock."²² "The Reverend and Respected Sir," as Dearth '54 calls him in his diary, was not always courteous. Attempting to explain his absence Dearth joined a group of students but "after answering a few questions he [Wayland] began to walk off into his office with great coolness and disregard to us undergraduates. I tried to speak to him; but had to follow him into his room to say a couple of words, for he wouldn't be stopped. Characteristic."²³ "In his last years . . . Wayland seems to have grown somewhat autocratic and arbitrary," Bronson reports President Angell as saying in a personal interview (Providence 1914) "that he was often imperious and rough, sometimes unreasonable and unjust; especially was he jealous of his authority — question that, and he swelled with anger. Weariness with routine made him more and more brusque toward the end."²⁴

But Wayland had a human side to his nature although "very few knew the depth of his heart or his genial nature." Behind the front necessary to his position as president and under his "Sunday clothes" was just a plain man. (He sat in the kitchen in his shirt sleeves. It was notorious that

²² C. T. Congdon, *Reminiscences of a Journalist* (Boston, 1880), 92.

²³ W. G. Dearth, *Praeterita, Journal of Acts and Thoughts*, 1854-55; October 13, 1854, MS. Brown University Archives.

²⁴ Bronson, *op. cit.*, 247.

he "used tobacco.")²⁵ While on active duty at college he was obliged to maintain an attitude; when off duty he could allow the benevolence of his real nature to be seen. He was a fatherly man, enjoying all the pleasures of parenthood; he walked with his sons, he taught them the Bible, he read them such old favorites as *Sandford and Merton*, and *Robinson Crusoe*, and he rolled on the floor with them encouraging "their wild delight when they were allowed to think they had conquered their father." This fatherliness he carried into his personal relationship with the students — out of hours. "Look at him — you would not wish to encounter his rebuff or his frown. But go to his study, state your perplexity, not another man of all your acquaintance would listen more attentively nor help you more truly and kindly."

* * * *

A writer in the *Nation* thus characterized Dr. Wayland at the time of the publication of the *Memoir* (1867): "Morally considered, he was a man to be much admired; admirable rather than very lovable perhaps, but certainly admirable, doing with all his might every duty which he thought to be laid upon him. The cause of good education, of good morals, had his intellectual, laborious, self-sacrificing service from his youth till his death; and if it is true that he is not to be remembered by many generations, yet while he is remembered he will be known as he would best liked to be known, — as a man who in his own generation worked hard to do good and did good."²⁶

Francis Wayland's fame does not rest on his desire to do good, nor on his striking personality. He is remembered because of his bold experiment introducing the elective system at Brown University.

²⁵ A student relates that when crossing the Campus he was startled by hearing a call in a boanerges voice, "'C—— have you a chew of tobacco' for the doctor was a shameless consumer of the weed." Congdon, *op. cit.*, 94.

²⁶ J. L. Dennett, *loc. cit.*, 431.

In an article of this length it is impossible to follow through all the consequences of his experiment. Briefly, it may be said that the immediate effect was an increase in enrollment and scholastic activity, but this did not last. Wayland had tried to do too much. His program was inadequately financed and met with the passive resistance of the faculty and board of trustees. Struggling practically single-handed, he wore himself out and ill-health forced his resignation. With scarcely concealed satisfaction the college returned to the old system.

In the long run his attempt had far reaching effects. Late in the nineteenth century a few leading educators, notably Charles William Eliot, found in the elective system the panacea for all educational ills. They gave high place to Jefferson, Ticknor, and Wayland as the pioneers in the movement. Followed to its logical conclusion the part of Wayland's formula which demanded that a student might study "what he chose, all that he chose" necessitated giving a large number of courses in specific subjects for specific purposes, *i.e.*, to help young men become better farmers, mechanics or merchants. As Professor Morison says "even a cursory inspection of their catalogues" shows that many state universities are following this principle today.²⁷ Not to mention the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, the Pulitzer School of Journalism, etc.

The second part of Wayland's formula eliminated all required courses; a student might study "nothing but what he chose." At Harvard in 1900, an extreme example, after

²⁷ Harvard never went as far as some of the others, nor quite succumbed to the demand for vocational training. Morison writes, "Eliot's greatest service to the country was to leap on the back of this wild mustang which Wayland had branded, and to break it into the civilized if somewhat jittery paces of the Harvard elective system. He managed to give the public what it wanted, without completely sacrificing Thomas Jefferson's ideal of training an intellectual aristocracy to serve a political democracy." Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard* (Cambridge, 1937), 288.

passing one required course in English, a student might meet the requirements for a degree by passing a given number of courses, elementary or advanced, selected at will from any part of the catalogue and absolutely unrelated to each other. The accumulation of a certain number of credits earned an A.B. degree and admission "to the fellowship of educated men."

Recently the tide has set strongly in the other direction. For some time Harvard has required candidates for honors to work under the supervision of a tutor in a field of concentration and to pass a general comprehensive examination. Brown has recently reduced by twenty per cent the number of courses in an effort to bring the students into closer stimulating contacts with mature faculty minds, and to urge them to do more reading and writing.

The problem of the higher education is still under discussion. Some continue to cling to the opinion held by Wayland and Eliot that every man should choose for himself the educational food which he would eat, even at the risk of mental indigestion. Others think that some sort of a diet should be prescribed by the college. The value of Wayland's experiment is in no way diminished by the differences of current opinion. Let it be said to his everlasting credit, that he faced the problem as he saw it and met it with courage.

New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

The Society of Colonial Wars issued in December a leaflet of eleven pages on John Albro's Deposition of 1705 in regard to the purchase of Aquidneck.

Notes

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

MR. CHARLES J. HILL

MR. WILFRED C. MURPHY

Three Examples of the Work of Lawrance Langworthy, Newport Pewterer

BY MADELAINE R. BROWN, M.D.

The earliest Rhode Island pewterer who has left known examples of his work is Lawrance Langworthy of Newport. He worked first in Exeter, England; and in the Exeter Museum, Devonshire, is a plate bearing his touch mark and the date 1719. By 1731 he had moved to Newport as evidenced by the Supreme Court Records naming him as pewterer and plaintiff in a law suit.¹

He did not come to America for religious reasons since he remained a member of the Anglican Church and became

¹ Colket, M. B., "Lawrence Langworthy, Pewterer" *The American Genealogist*: 15, p. 1. July 1938.

a vestryman of Trinity Church, Newport. It is supposed that he came for business reasons and to Newport, because the only other Langworthy known to have come to this country was Andrew Langworthy, a citizen of Newport as early as 1652.

Lawrance Langworthy had two children, Mary and Southcott. Mary married Daniel Pierce and he and Southcott went into business together as braziers in Newport. The Langworthy name was carried on only one generation further for Southcott's only son was severely injured in the Revolutionary War and left no descendants.

Mr. Colket prints Lawrance's will probated 1739 which shows that he left a very substantial estate for that day.¹ The tombstone of Lawrance and his wife, Mary, is in the Island cemetery, Newport, and is believed by Mr. Howard Chapin to bear the only example of an impaled coat of arms in colonial Rhode Island. The birth place of Lawrance is given as Ashburton and of Mary as Dartmouth, both of Devonshire. It is probable that she was Mary Southcott since this was the name of a prominent gentry family of Devonshire and both Langworthy children named sons Southcott. Mr. William Langworthy of Hamilton, New York, descendant of Andrew Langworthy, has made a search of the Ashburton parish records without being able to trace the Langworthy ancestry.

In 1936 a bell metal, three-legged pot turned up in the possession of Mrs. Benjamin Blake of Weston, Massachusetts. This bears the mark "L. Langworthy 1730" on the handle. In the spring of 1938 a similar pot with the mark "L. L. Newport" was discovered in the possession of Mr. Lewis Wiggin of Northampton, Massachusetts and due to the efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Paul J. Franklin of Needham, one marked identically with Mrs. Blake's was located in the collection of the late Mr. Albert Bowman of Springfield, Vermont. It is of interest that all of these pots were found in the Connecticut valley possibly indicating an early maritime trade route.

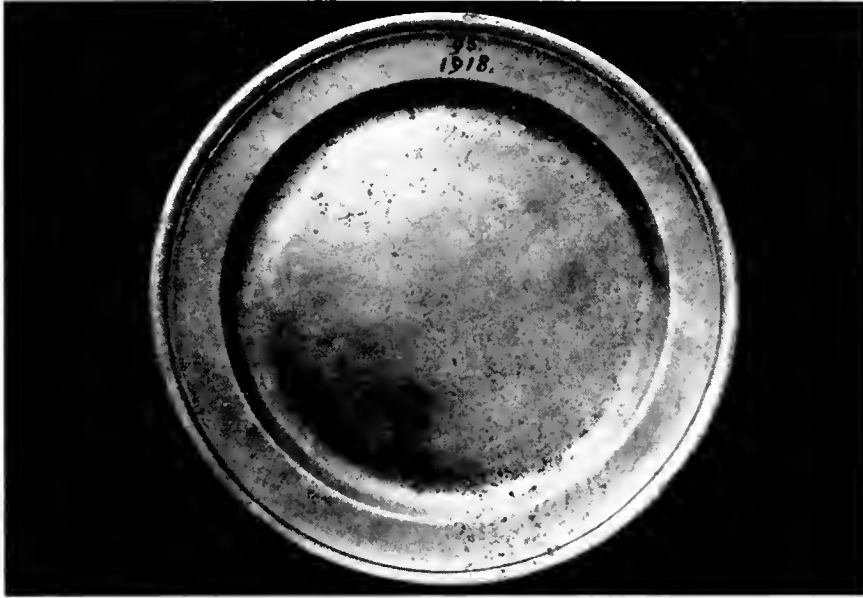
The handles of both pots where they were attached have a defect blotting out the "L" of Langworthy. The fact that two examples dated 1730 have been found in this country leads one to suppose that the maker began work in Newport at this time. Outside of a spoon handle by Joseph



TOUCH MARK OF LANGWORTHY
FROM COLKET, IN AMER.
GENEALOGIST



TOUCH MARK OF LANGWORTHY ON PEWTER PLATE IN
EXETER MUSEUM, EXETER, ENGLAND



LANGWORTHY PEWTER PLATE IN
EXETER MUSEUM, EXETER, ENGLAND

Copeland of Chuckatuck, Virginia, recently excavated at Jamestown², these pots by Langworthy remain the earliest known examples of an American pewterer's work. Copeland's touch mark dated 1675 is strikingly similar in type to Langworthy's English mark, although the two men began work forty-four years apart on opposite sides of the Atlantic.

There are several bell metal pots of the same type in Newport at present, two of which bear simply "Newport" on the handles. One is in the Newport Historical Society and the other in the Winton-Lyman-Hazard House. These were probably made either by Lawrance or his son, Southcott, but unfortunately no pewter made in this country by the former has been discovered.

² Bailey, W., "Joseph Copeland, 17th Century Pewterer" *Antiques*: 23, p. 188 April 1938.



Photo by Mr. P. J. Franklin

LANGWORTHY BELL METAL POT

Owened by Mr. Lewis N. Wiggin, Northampton, Mass.



Photo by Mr. P. J. Franklin

LANGWORTHY BELL METAL POTS

*Owened by
Dr. Madelaine Brozen*

*Owened by
Mrs. Benjamin Blake*

Rhode Island Historical Society

Treasurer's Report

INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1938

RECEIPTS

Annual Dues	\$2,090.00
Dividends and Interest	3,390.56
Rental of Rooms	100.00
Newspaper Account	12.50
State Appropriation	1,500.00
Surplus Income Account	686.50
	<hr/>
	\$7,779.56

EXPENDITURES

Binding	\$ 32.10
Books	326.01
Electric Light and Gas	73.90
Lectures	82.71
Expenses	48.18
Grounds and Building	6.55
Heating	700.85
Insurance	225.00
Publications	504.12
Salaries	5,580.00
Supplies	133.84
Telephone	58.30
Water	8.00
	<hr/>
	\$7,779.56

STATEMENT OF CONDITION, DECEMBER 31, 1938

ASSETS	
Grounds and Building	\$ 25,000.00
Investments:	
\$3,000. Central Mfg. District	\$3,000.00
4,000. Dominion of Canada, 5s, 1952	4,003.91
4,000. Minn. Power & Light Co., 1st 5s, 1955	3,930.00
2,000. Ohio Power Co., 1st & Ref. 5s, 1952	1,974.00
1,000. Texas P. & L., 1st & Ref. 5s, 1956	1,021.25
1,000. Pennsylvania R. R., Deb. 4½s, 1970	922.50
1,000. Penn. Water & Power Co., 1st 5s, 1940	1,005.42
5,000. Bethlehem Steel Corp. 4½s, 1960	5,225.00
3,000. Western Mass. Com. 3¼s, 1946	3,086.25
3,000. Consolidated Gas Co. of N. Y. 3¼s, 1946	3,131.25
4,000. Broadway Exch. Corp. 1st Mtge. Cert. } 1950	4,000.00
8 shs. Class A Broadway Exch. Corp.	
\$ 500. Pennsylvania Railroad Co. 3¼s, 1952	500.00
500. New York Central Railroad Co. 3¼s, 1952	509.39
1,000. Gulf State Utilities Co., 4s, 1966	1,060.50
54 shs. New York Central Railroad Co.	3,654.62
30 shs. Lehigh Valley Railroad Co.	2,112.50
7 shs. Lehigh Valley Coal Co.	235.39
125 shs. Pennsylvania Railroad Co.	7,638.35
40 shs. Wisconsin Electric Power Co., Pfd.	3,900.00
70 shs. American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	6,591.72
350 shs. Providence Gas Co.	5,755.68
15 shs. Providence National Bank	1,513.62
15 shs. Providence Nat'l Corp. Trust Cert. }	
45 shs. Blackstone Canal National Bank	1,050.00
52 shs. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Ry. Co. Com.	6,247.85
45 shs. Public Service of N. J., 5s, Cum. Pfd.	4,317.63
22 shs. Continental Can	1,446.02
40 shs. Bankers Trust Co. of N. Y.	2,615.00
2 shs. Guaranty Trust Co. of N. Y.	706.00
Savings Account	2,000.00
	<hr/>
	83,153.85
Cash on hand	3,193.96
	<hr/>
	\$111,347.81

LIABILITIES

Equipment Fund	\$ 25,000.00
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Permanent Endowment Fund:

Samuel M. Noyes	\$12,000.00
Henry J. Steere	10,000.00
James H. Bugbee	6,000.00
Charles H. Smith	5,000.00
William H. Potter	3,000.00
Charles W. Parsons	4,000.00
Esek A. Jillson	2,000.00
John Wilson Smith	1,000.00
William G. Weld	1,000.00
Charles C. Hoskins	1,000.00
Charles H. Atwood	1,000.00
Edwin P. Anthony	4,000.00
John F. Street	1,000.00
George L. Shepley	5,000.00
Franklin Lyceum Memorial	734.52
Sarah P. Blake	124.00
	<hr/>
	56,858.52

Publication Fund:

Robert P. Brown	2,000.00
Ira P. Peck	1,000.00
William Gammell	1,000.00
Albert J. Jones	1,000.00
William Ely	1,000.00
Julia Bullock	500.00
Charles H. Smith	100.00
	<hr/>
	6,600.00

Life Membership	5,600.00
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Book Fund	3,012.41
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Reserve	926.60
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Revolving Publication Fund	257.95
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Surplus	12,583.65
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Surplus Income Account	508.68
	<hr/>
	\$111,347.81

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1938

RECEIPTS	
Indianapolis Power & Light.....	\$ 1,040.00
Reserve Fund	519.86
Revolving Publication Fund	2.50
	<hr/>
	\$ 1,562.36
Balance January 1, 1938	2,344.56
	<hr/>
	\$3,906.92
PAYMENTS	
Gulf State Utilities.....	\$ 1,060.50
Reserve Fund	285.14
	<hr/>
	\$1,345.64
Balance January 1, 1939	2,561.28
	<hr/>
	\$3,906.92

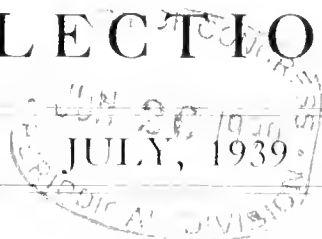
Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT T. DOWNS,
Treasurer

January 1939

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXXII



No. 3



A Representation of the **GREAT STORM** *at Providence, Sept. 23rd 1815*

From the Library of the Corporation of the City of Providence

THE FLEETWOOD ENGRAVING OF THE GREAT STORM OF 1815

From original in the Society's library

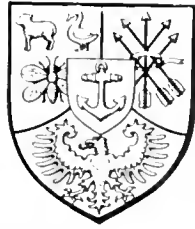
Issued Quarterly

68 WATERMAN STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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RHODE
HISTORICAL



ISLAND
SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXXII

JULY, 1939

No. 3

HARRY PARSONS CROSS, *President*
WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER, *Secretary*

ROBERT T. DOWNS, *Treasurer*
HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

The Signing of the Compact
and
The Purchase of Aquidneck

By EDWARD H. WEST

The so-called Portsmouth Compact has claimed the attention of many historians, and all have praised it, both for its civil and its religious aspects. There has been a difference of opinion, however, as to where it was drawn up, some few claiming it was made in Providence, while the majority give Boston as the place where it was made and signed. No one gives any sufficient reason for his belief in either place.

Aside from the date of the *Compact* (7 March 1637/8), there are two records which give considerable information on this subject, and definitely indicate that the document was drawn before the men who signed it left Boston.

First, there is the letter from Thomas Dudley to John Winthrop, dated 19 of ye 12 1637¹, which says "In answer

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. Ser. 4, v. 7.

the 7 day of the first week 1638

We most humbly and underwritten do give solemnly
in the presence of God our most merciful Father
into a Body Politick and ye shall have with you
with our persons lives and estates unto our Lord
Jesus Christ the King of Kings & Lords & Saints
and to all his perfect most absolute laws
of his grace in his holy word of truth, to be
governed by Judgement here by

William Coddington

John Clarke

William Hutchinson

John Burdett

William Symonds

Samuel Willson

John Dorsey

John Sargent

Edward Hutchinson

Thomas Savage

William Dyre

William Wyborne

John Shourton

John Waller

Richard Carter

William Barlow

Edward Hutchinson

Samuel Little

Randall Howland

Thomas Clarke

John Johnson

William Waller

John Burdett

to yours, and to what Mr. Coddington hath by word mentioned, I say as followeth, that I am content himself, Mr. Wildbore, Mr. Coggeshall, Goodman Freeborne & Richard Carder shall have lycense to depart out of the Patent, within a month from hence following (*this would be 19 March 1637/8*) and after to retourne at their pleasures to remove their famyles, so it be within half a yeare from this date, — only Mr. Coddington and Mr. Wildbore are to come & goe, & trade & comerce, and take their own tyme for removall of their famyles. Likewise Serjeant Hutchinson & Serjeant Boston and John Porter, I consent to their departure and the release of their fines, provided that they shall depart before the thirteenth of the next month, & not return any more

This shows that William Coddington had been making plans for removal for some time before the date of Dudley's letter, and although he was favored in Dudley's letter, and subsequent records show that he never broke off entirely with the Bay Colony, it was for his own advancement and profit that he was at the head of the movement for removal to another place. As to the last three names mentioned in this letter, Dudley insists that they shall leave before the thirteenth of March, the first definite date found in regard to their removal.

Second, at the meeting of the General Court, 12th 1 mo 1637/8², it is shown that "Mr. Coddington, Mr. John Coggeshall, William Baulston, Edward Hutchinson, Samuel Wilbore, John Porter, John Compton, Henry Bull, Philip Sherman, William Freeborne & Richard Carder, having license to depart, summons is to go out for them to appear (if they not be gone before) at the next Court." Although this has been mentioned in most accounts of that time, very little attention has been paid to the wording of the *Warrant* which follows the above record, which reads —

"Whereas you have desired and obtained a license to remove your selves & your families out of this jurisdiction,

² Mass. Coll. Records, v. 1.

27th of Apr. 1638.

We have freemen Incorporated of this body
politic do elect and constitute William Coddington
Esquire a Judge amongst us and do com-
mand to, hold all due honour due him accord-
ing to the laws of God; and so far as in us lies
to maintain the honour & privilege of his
place we shall give effect to his request accord-
ing unto God, his Lordshiping us so to do
vice Charles William Aspinwall Secy.

I William Coddington Esquire being called
upon by the freemen Incorporated of this body
politic to be a Judge amongst them; do com-
mand to do Justice & Judgment impartially accord-
ing to the laws of God and to maintain the
fundamental rights & privileges of this body
politic we shall give effect to his request accord-
ing unto God, his Lordshiping us so to do.
W Coddington

William Aspinwall is appointed Secretary.

& for that information hath been given to this Court that your intent is only to withdraw your selves for a season, that you may avoid the censure of the Court in some things which may bee objected against you, the Court therefore order that you depart according to the license given you, so as your families may be removed before the next General Court." From this second record it would seem as if Dudley looked ahead to the date of the sitting of the Court when he specified that the last three men mentioned in his letter, should be gone before the thirteenth of March. They could not leave before they procured their license to go, which could not be obtained before the Court met on the 12th, hence all signers of the *Compact* must have been in Boston on the 7th, the date on which it was signed.

It is unfortunate that we have only John Clarke's account of the journey to the Island of Aquidneck, as he left out many things that we would like to know. This journey has not been given serious thought by any of the historians except Mr. Howard M. Chapin, in his *Documentary History of Rhode Island*.

John Clarke says that they left Boston in the Spring³, which I do not think can be taken seriously, as to the date, especially as Winthrop says in regard to that season "This was a very hard winter. The snow lay from November 4 to March 23 half a yard deep about the Massachusetts — and the spring was very backward." With the snow on the ground, or melting, it would have been more than two days journey to Providence. After they arrived there the situation had to be talked over with Roger Williams. Then, on his advice, Roger Williams, John Clarke, and two others (why did he not give their names?) journeyed to Plymouth to determine what land they could procure; all of which took time.

According to John Clarke³, the vessel, which had sailed from Boston bearing some members of the party around

³ Ill Newes from New England, Dr. John Clarke.

Cape Cod, was expected in Providence, but had not arrived when the party left for Plymouth. From this same source we learn that after the mission was accomplished at Plymouth the committee returned to Providence. John Clarke gives no detail of the purchase of Aquidneck, and possibly he was not at Narragansett when the purchase was made, but fortunately there is a deposition made by William Coddington⁴ in which can be found many of the details.

Coddington describes in the deposition how they went to the Island and saw the Indian Sachem there, who informed them that they would have to see the Chief Sachems at Narragansett "whereupon this deponant, with some others, went from Aquidneck Island unto the Narragansett to the said Sachems." Of the "some others" we have Roger Williams who drew up the deed, Randal Houlden who witnessed it, as well as John Sanford, John Porter, Richard Carder, and William Dyre, all making depositions in regard to the gift of the little island to William Dyre⁵.

Taking all the above into consideration, the journey of the vessel around Cape Cod to Providence, then the trip from Providence to Aquidneck and thence to Narragansett, where the sale of Aquidneck was made on the 24th of March, twelve days after they had obtained their license to depart, it is certain that of the twelve days, very few could have been spent in Boston, and consequently the departure from Boston must have been made very soon after the license to depart was procured.

It is very probable that the trip from Providence to Aquidneck and Narragansett was made in the vessel that brought some of the party around the Cape. As both Coddington and Wilbore are referred to in Dudley's letter as being in "trade and comerce," it is possible that the vessel belonged to one of them. Or, as we learn from the note book of Thomas Letchford⁵ that John Coggeshall, William Hutchinson, Thomas Savage, and William Dyre were part

⁴ Rhode Island Col. Records, 1-51.

⁵ Rhode Island Col. Records, 1-267.

owners of a wharf and warehouse in Boston, it may have been a vessel belonging to one, or more, of these men. That the vessel returned to Aquidneck from Narragansett, is shown by the deposition of William Coddington⁶ which says — “I doe affirm that wee the Purchasers of Rhode Island (my selfe being the chief) William Dyre desiring a spot of land of us as we passed by it, after we had purchased the said Island, did grant him our Right in the said island & named it Dyres Island.” Had they returned to Providence from Narragansett, they would not have seen this island, as it lies between Aquidneck and Prudence Islands, far off their course had they sailed to Providence.

No doubt some of the men started in immediately to clear the land around the cove (called Sanfords Cove in some of the early records) for their new settlement, their families possibly staying in Providence while this work was going on. Certainly much work had to be done on the Island between the 24th of March, when they purchased it, and the 13th of May, when they held their first town meeting. Probably the land was cleared around the cove and the settlement was made before thought was given to laws or anything else. And it appears, from the records, that this first settlement was temporary, as — “*the Towne shall be builded at the springe,*” according to the second record made at this first meeting. After they had erected some sort of Shelter they began to think about laws, as well as the legal allotments of their land, and from that time their records show that laws were made as the occasion demanded.

In regard to the signers of the *Compact* two questions arise, one of which has been discussed several times by as many historians; but never, to my knowledge, has the second been mentioned.

The first question involves the names that have been *erased* from the bottom of the *Compact*, Thomas Clarke, John Johnson, William Hall, and John Brightman. These

⁶ Note Book of Thomas Letchford, American Antiquarian Soc.

men, with the exception of Brightman, were all admitted Inhabitants of the Colony, 20 May 1638, at the third meeting of the settlers, and were among the first nine men admitted. Taking the known records of these men, we find that with the exception of Johnson, no mention of them is made before the date of their admission, either in the Bay Colony or Plymouth. In fact nothing further can be found of John Brightman, and I think that we can safely leave him out of all further consideration.

The General Court, at its meeting of 12th 1 mo 1637/8, warns John Johnson of Mount Wollaston, one of "Mr. Coddington's men, to be removed before the next Court." This shows that he was probably William Coddington's farmer, and would not have been in a position to purchase land with the others. As no mention is made of Thomas Clarke and William Hall in the Boston records, it is very probable that they arrived in Boston while the Hutchinson controversy was going on, in fact they may have arrived in November on the ship with John Clarke, and may have been among those who were given permission to land. A suggestion has been made that possibly their names were erased when they left the Island, but both Clarke and Hall stayed on the Island until they died, Clarke in 1674 and Hall in 1675. There seems also to be a mistaken idea as to the town to which these men were admitted, Newport being the place mentioned in some accounts, when in fact, at the time they were admitted, Newport had not been thought of, and at the time of their admittance the only settlement was at the north end of the island.

With these facts, and the question following, it would seem as if these men were not among the first settlers of the Island, and were not the original signers of the *Compact*, and that their names were added through some mistake, or possibly some one had them sign their names for an unknown reason of his own, later crossing them out.

The mere fact that these men were admitted Inhabitants, instead as Proprietors or Freeman, as were the signers of

the Compact, shows that their names have no place on the Compact.

The second question I wish to bring up concerns the deposition made by William Coddington, 14 April 1652⁷, when he said "Whereas there was an agreement of eighteen persons to make purchase of some place to the southward for a plantation." Had he forgotten just how many men there were, or had he purposely left one of the signers out, and if so, which one?

In the margins of the pages recording the first nine meetings on the Island (13th 3mo 1638 to 2nd 11mo 1638), there is a list of names, apparently those of the men who attended the meetings. Of the signers of the *Compact*, all but two, William Aspinwall and Thomas Savage, are mentioned at the majority of those meetings. We know that William Aspinwall was on the Island, although it is shown that he was not in the good graces of the Coddington followers. This does not seem strange as he was always getting into trouble with some one, but it is certain that he was on the Island for some time, the latest time his name appearing on the records being 16th 12 mo 1639. On the 10th of the same month he was granted 200 acres of land near Sandy Point, but no further mention of this land is made until 1661, when it is called in "the possession of Edward Hutchinson."

Of Thomas Savage there is no record on the Island except when he is mentioned in the 1641 list of Freemen, but it is in the Boston records that we find most about him. Although he was among those disarmed, he does not appear in the record of those who had license to depart. From the Boston Town Records we find that he bought land at Muddy River, 21st 11 mo 1638, that he was mentioned three times in 1640 in connection with land grants in the Bay Colony, and that he paid for land in 1642. Aside from this we find that his wife, who was a daughter of Anne Hutchinson, had children born and baptized in Boston in 1638 and 1639, as well as in

⁷ Rhode Island Col. Records, 1-50.

1643, so it would appear that his stay at Aquidneck (if any) was very short. It seems to me that if William Coddington had meant to leave out one of the signers, Thomas Savage was the one.

There is a line apparently drawn through the name of Thomas Savage on the *Compact*, but this probably is of no consequence, as the names of John Clarke and John Coggeshall also have lines through them, and certainly their place in the Colony can not be questioned.

None of the various historians ever tried to name the writer of the *Compact* until Thomas Bicknell, in his "Story of Dr. John Clarke" said that it was *probably* written by Clarke. Dr. Wilbur Nelson in his "Hero of Aquidneck" says that Dr. Clarke *did* write the Compact. Unfortunately Dr. Nelson has followed Bicknell too closely, and evidently has not studied the original records at all, or he would not also have said that William Dyre was elected Clerk at the time of the signing of the *Compact*, nor that the Island was purchased at Providence.

Very probably Bicknell, himself, did not use the original records of Rhode Island, but depended on Bartlett's transcriptions, which are full of errors. William Aspinwall was appointed secretary on the day that the *Compact* was signed, as is shown on Page 2 of the Records of the Island of Rhode Island. On Page 3 of the same book, are the first records made on the Island, 13 May 1638, and at the top of the page, in the handwriting of William Dyre, who wrote the records for many months, is the agreement that Dyre is to be clerk. The deposition of William Coddington, already mentioned, shows that the Island was purchased at Narragansett, not Providence.

It seems strange that Bicknell based the probability of John Clarke's having written the *Compact* mainly on the strength of "its religious sentiment." At the time when the *Compact* was written, the Bay Colony had just suppressed the followers of Anne Hutchinson in what appears to have been the beginning of a religious war. Then every family

depended on and studied the Bible as an answer to all problems. Henry Leland Chapman⁸ states the condition of the people of that time as follows "Religion, and religion in its most intellectual and theological aspect, was the common vocation of the people, and they hurried through what might be called the exacting chores of life in order that they might give themselves to frequent and protracted seasons of worship and religious instruction, and theological disputation." How, under these conditions, can it be said that any one man wrote a paper with "religious sentiment," and that man be named, without proof?

The admirers of John Clarke must not forget that William Coddington was at the head of the movement to found a new colony, and that everything was done at Coddington's orders, notwithstanding the statement of John Clarke³, that it was at Clarke's suggestion that the decision was made to move from the Bay Colony. While it is to Anne Hutchinson that the credit of the founding of Rhode Island must be given, for it was the quality of her disarmed followers that led to the founding of a separate colony, which under other men would probably have been absorbed by either Massachusetts or Connecticut or both; none the less it is to William Coddington that the credit of the actual founding of the colony must be made, as it was through his wealth and influence (in spite of some of his later acts) that other men of influence settled there, and eventually developed what is now the State of Rhode Island. Does it not seem strange that a young man like John Clarke, without previous experience in a wild country, such as ours was when he arrived, should have been given the authority that he seems to assume in his tract³? As he did not arrive in Boston until November 1637, he had no knowledge of the heat of the previous summer, and certainly could not have told, from his own experience, that the following winter was unusually severe. His mention of "some others" who accompanied him is certainly not definite, and one can not tell whether they

⁸ Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, Prof. Henry Leland Chapman.

were new arrivals or men who had been in the Bay Colony for some time. It does not seem possible that any of the Boston men, who were connected with the removal, would think of a new colony to the north, as John Clarke implies, as they all had been in the Bay Colony long enough to know how much farther north they must go to escape the jurisdiction of the Bay, and it would seem as if this northern trip was made by newcomers who were ignorant of the true conditions of the country. It will be noticed that John Clarke⁹ makes no mention of the *Compact*, or any other agreement, except the one which provided that some of the party should travel by land while the vessel went around Cape Cod. I am convinced that had John Clarke drawn up, or written the *Compact*, he most certainly would have mentioned it in his tract, and he claims no credit for the authorship.

Before John Clarke arrived in Boston, a "Petition or Remonstrance" against the conviction of Wheelwright, was presented to the General Court.^{10, 11} Although the Petition was presented in March 1636/7, it was not used by the Court until the following November, and was then used against the signers (who numbered over sixty¹²) and was really the cause of the disarming of the followers of Anne Hutchinson.

A reading of this Petition will show that it has a religious sentiment, with frequent Bible references, as did most of the papers of that time, including the *Compact*. Unfortunately the Petition has been lost, although it is reproduced in the story told by Welde, as well as in a footnote in Winthrop's history,¹¹ and we have the word of both Welde and Winthrop that this Petition was written by William Aspinwall, one of the signers of the *Compact*, a man well known as a writer, who, when he was permitted to return to Boston, was made Clerk of the Court, as well as a Notary Public.

⁹ Rise, Reign and Ruin, Thomas Welde.

¹⁰ Antinomianism, Charles Francis Adams.

¹¹ History of New England, John Winthrop.

A comparison of the handwriting of the *Compact* and the handwritings of William Aspinwall, as seen on the second page of the Record book, as well as in the extract taken from his Notarial Records, shows, without any doubt, that the *Compact*, as shown in the Record book, was certainly written by William Aspinwall, while the extract from John Clarke's letter shows that he could not have written this copy of the *Compact*. In absence of proof of Clarke's authorship it would be well to give credit to Aspinwall, who, as secretary of the body, and a lawyer, would naturally have been the one to have drawn up this document.

The intention of this article is not to belittle John Clarke, but to give credit where it is due. Dr. Clarke has a very fine monument in the Charter which he procured for this Colony, but the records fail to disclose the very prominent part which some claim that he had in the early life of this Colony. And after all it is the official records that we must use in order to know the truth, anything else is conjecture, and if one uses too much of that the results are bound to be distorted, and although we may have a very pleasing story, it is not history. It depends on what we want—a good story or history—on what we shall base our facts, or how we shall read the records.

Providence Letters of Marque Issued in the War of 1812

Abstract of Commissions of Letter of Marque &c issued in the District of Providence in the State of Rhode Island & from the 12 May 1813 to the 12 September 1814.

58, Geo. P. Stevenson, John Hollins, Michael McBlair and John S. Hollins, owners, issued August 14, 1813, Schooner Sparrow, Commander Ezekiel Hall, first lieutenant Daniel Chace, 83 90/95 tons, 16 men, 1 carriage gun, sureties George I. Brown, Thomas P. Ives.

59, Moses Eddy, Saml Eddy, Benj & Joseph Comstock, owners, issued October 16, 1813, Sloop Juno, Commander William Comstock, first lieutenant Geo. L. Brown, 54 75/95 tons, 5 men, 1 carriage gun, 1 swivel, sureties Samuel Currie, James Currie.

60, Isaac Bowen, Jr., Saml Currie, Richd Olney, Jerah Munro, owners, issued October 18, 1813, Sloop Huntress, Commander James Currie, first lieutenant Wm. Arnold, 99 51/95 tons, 8 men, 2 carriage guns, sureties Moses Eddy, Wm. Comstock.

922, Geo. Coggeshall, E. Minor Jr., David Miles, Wm. Strong, Wm. M. Miles, John J. Minor, Jonathan Lawrence, Jr., owners, issued November 9, 1813, schooner David Porter, Commander George Coggeshall, first lieutenant Saml. McNicholes, 192 33/95 tons, 30 men, 6 carriage guns, sureties Edward Carrington, Hy P. Franklin.

923, John Richard, James Case owners, issued November 22, 1813, Schooner Viper, commander Domingo Dithurbide, first lieutenant Wm. Earle, 303 37/95 tons, 40 men, 4 carriage guns, 20 muskets, sureties Frederick Brunel, Gurdon S. Mumford.

Sept 12, 1814

Thos Coles Col

924, Peter H. Schenck & Martin W. Brett, owners, issued December 13, 1814, Brig Morgiana, commander George H. Fellows, first lieutenant John Hariltor, 270 43/95 tons, 100 men, 14 carriage, sureties Henry Cowing, George Weeden.

925, William Keith, Isaac Jenny & Abijah Luce, owners, issued December 27, 1814, Schooner "Sine qua non" alias William commander Abijah Luce, first lieutenant Joseph Breck, 173 85/95 tons, 80 men, 7 carriage, sureties Wheeler Martin, William Valentine.

926, Peter H. Schenck & Martin W. Brett owners, issued January 2, 1815, Brig Scourge, Commander Charles W.

Wooster, first lieutenant Lothrop Turner, 250 tons, 110 men, 9 carriage sureties Henry Cowing, George Weeden.

Jany 10, 1815 Thos Coles Col

(From Rhode Island Historical Society Manuscripts, XVII, 115.)

NOTE: The numbers are apparently federal, not local, numbering.

—*Editor*

The Journal of Capt. Tillinghast

(concluded from Page 16)

Sunday 16 This day fair weather went over to sea M^r Rokes try^d for to shute some Pigeons but could not get aney went to drive up the Horses found they had got out of the Pasture returnd and sent Peter Fisher out but could not find them this afternon went out took another look but could not find them rain this night singin shooll at the hall this afternoon

Monday 17 This day commences cloudy took up staks at 9 °Clock went in persute of the Horses at which time it began to rain went through the woods to M^r Grangers whare we heard of them Col. Berry having tawn them up this morning on the rode to Troy M^r G. offerd a Horse sent S. Scovill after them returnd home at 12 °Clock continued rainy all the time later past light squalls of rain so ends this day cloudy

Tuesday 18th This day commences fair weather after brackfast took the Gig went down to Gen^l Gansiford saw a most capitall saw mill with a gang of 13 saws and a good Grist mill plenty of Logs Boards & Plank stop at Cap^t Thompson mill a gang of 15 saws returnd to Dinner after which took the Chaise and started for Balltown arrived at sunsett so Ends this day

Wednesday 19 This day commences with heavy rain at 10 °Clock more moderate light squalls and rain at 12 °Clock started for Northumberland stop at Homes found no letters started on just as we enterd on the planes began

to rain very fast attended with Thunder & lightning continued untill a cross them (the plains) then held up. obliged to get out going up hill it being clay and very slippery all most impossible to get up or down arrived at dark at P. L. M. 20 mile so Ends this day

Thursday Sep^r 20th This day commences foggy & flying clouds at 11 °Clock tackl^d up and went down to E. Reynolds P. L. M. Z. M. A. M. & W. E. T. was very agreably entertaind. Rost Pig & a most execlent loin of Veal for dinner this day at 9 °Clock returnd very cold and heavy frost this night so ends this day

Friday 21 This day fair weather and moderate over hauld the Carriages greast Wheals moved the Chain farther back on the thourong Braces at 5 °Clock tackl^d up and took in Amey and went up to N. Tillinghast so ends this day fair weather

Saturday 22 This day commences fair weather after brackfast got into a Waggon and went down to P. L. M. help him get a frame for a Chaise house and carted two loads of slabs from Thompsons mills at night returnd to N. T. so Ends this day

Sunday 23 This day commences fair weather tackl^d up went down to P. L. M. and he & Mrs. Mawney joind us went up to Glans falls at night returnd by Cadwell's to N. T. so Ends this day

Monday 24 This day commences fair weather in the morning went down to P. L. M. to help build a Chaise house at night returnd to N. T. after compleating the house & boarding up part of the Barn so Ends this day fair weather and cold nights

Tuesday 25 This day commences fair weather at 10 °Clock started for P. L. M. help build two mangers at 2 °Clock started for Fort Edward crost the river at Col^r Rogers attended the Lodge at 11 °Clock arrived home after being politly treated So Ends this day

Wednesday 26 This day commences fair weather went to work repairing Barn building fowell house in the afternoon H. & A. came down at night returnd with them so ends this day

Thursday 27 This day commences with cloudy weather at 10 °Clock clear went out with N. to the foot of Palmer Town mountains returnd at 3 °Clock P. M. found Amey & Hanah employd at blagarding each other so ends this day with flying clouds

Friday 28 This day commences fair weather walkd down to P. L. M. with N. found he had gone to Troy nothing remarkable this day

Saturday 29 This day commences fair weather & could greast wheals brushd Chaise &c at 10 °Clock started for Glans Falls arrived at 1 ° Clock at Twings 7 miles at 2½ °Clock started for Lake George arrived at Stiles Inn @ 5 °Clock 9 miles on the west side of the Lake one mile from the head a good House & fared well so ends this day clear & cold strong gales at North

Sunday Sep 30, 1804 This day commences fair wether light air at South get ready to goe down to dimond Island 14 miles at 8 °Clock strong breazes at N W. gave up the idea of going off on the Lake went out to vew the remains of the old fort Prince William Henry with the old Buring grounds saw the remains of the French intrenchment that whare hove up at the time the Fort surrenderd found some of the wall and old timber that formerly composed the brest work. The Buring ground about 4 Akers. at 3 °Clock started to return stop^t at the head of the Lake to vew Fort George the walls of which are of stone & lime coverd with dirt and are in a maner all standing two miles from this on the rode East side is Bloody pond whare the Indians murderd the English at the time they surrenderd to the French stop at Wing rested then started for N. T.

arrived at 8 °Clock cloudy & cold so ends this day—
spits of Snow

Monday Oct. 1 This day commences cloudy litle or no
wind & could after brakfast walkd down to P. L. M.
this day the roade was apprised that runs back of the
House at 500 \$ which occasiond a long dispute and the
most simple argument and many unjust occasiond by
party returnd to N. T. at 12 °Clock at night so End
this day

Tuesday Oct. 2. This day commences fair weather at 10
°Clock started with P. L. M. dined at Leas Saritogo
went on to Balltown spring from their to the Post office
then to the Court House then to T. Patchens whare we
taried for the night found that the people had left the
spring So Ends this day

Wednesday Oct. 3. This day commences fair weather after
Brackfast went down to the Court House from thence
by the way of Balltown Springs to W Leas at Saritoga
dined then procede on arrived at N T. at 5 °Clock
enquired at the Post office for Letters found none so
ends this day fair weather

Thursday Oct. 4. This day commences fair weather turn'd
out early kil^d a pig maid a good dinner at 5½ °Clock
caught the mare found one of her fore legs much chafed
appeard to have ben done by tying her head & foot
when or whare I cannot learn went down to P. L. M.
found the house full debating upon the rode disputes
runing high so ends this day

Friday 5 This day commences Cloudy weather found the
mares leg sweld and some stiff light rains cleand Har-
ness this afternoon went with P. L. M. and M^r Cooper
to view Bightley's Spring on approaching the creak
smellt the spring some distance smelt much like Bilg
warter on tasting it resembled gun powder & warter
got caught in the rain returnd at 7 °Clock so Ends this
day Amey & M^{rs} Mawney at Doct^r Ellis

Saturday 6 This day commences cloudy with light rain in the afternoon went up to N T sent the Mare to get shodd wash^d her Leg found it some better so Ends this Day

Sunday 7 Oct This day commences Cloudy with squalls of rain at 1/2 past 11 o'clock tackled up the Chaise Hanah & Amey startd for a Methodis mariage & Meating got in sight of the house found they had turnd out all except those that belong^d to the meating they return^d home. Nicholass & myself on foot so Ends this day fair wether

11. So Tillinghast ended many an entry in his ship's logs. Other entries in the journal are also reminiscent of his life at sea.

Early Ship Protests

(continued from vol. XXIX, page 32)

These ship protests are entered in the second volume of Rhode Island Land Evidences which are in the State Archives.

By this publick Instrument of proteste be it known . . . this day the two & twentieth of March 1701 . . . Came unto mee Weston Clarke publick Recorder . . . of the Collony of Rhoad Island . . . Benj. Ellery Master of the Ship Thomas & Susanah²⁵ Burden About one hundred & Seventy tons belonging to the Island of Barbados in the west Indies the Sd Master declared . . . that in his voyage Coming from Saltatudos²⁶ & bound for Virginia Meating with A Squall of wind Lost his fore top mast as Allso in the Lattitude of thirty three had a greatt Storme & in Sd storme Sprung his Maine & fore Mast the wind hanging in the westerne Bord was Driven farr to the Northward by the wind & Currants & Did after Sd Storme Endeavour to gitt Some port in Order to Repaire his Sd Ship with

Masts which proved to be rhoad Island & the Sd Master
 Not knowing what Damage is done . . . Doth thare fore
 in Such Cases provided Sollomly . . . protest Against the
 Sd Seas & badness of Weather for All & Every parte of
 the Damages Done . . . thare by unto the Sd vessell . . .
 or unto . . . every part of hir Cargo . . . Entred in the
 publick Records . . . the day & yeare Above Written

Samll Cranston Govr

Benjamin Ellery, master; Benjamin Church, mate; and
 William Hackney, boatswain acknowledged this instru-
 ment.

(II,146)

By this Publick Instrumt of Protest be it known & mani-
 fest that this day being the Seventh of September one
 thousand seven hundred and two Came before me Weston
 Clark publick Recorder . . . John Cranston master of the
 Sloop Elizabeth and Sarah burthen about seventy tons
 and Belonging to the Towne of Newport on Rhoad Island
 . . . the said Master declared . . . that being at anchor in
 Caroloine bay in the Island of Barbados on the Evleventh
 day of august Last past was by Stress of winds and weather
 forst from his Anchors One of his Cables parting the other
 he was forst to Lett slip & send one hand in his boat on
 shoar but the Storme . . . continewing soe Vilently all that
 day & night following that I could not gett in nor feth

²⁵ Benjamin Ellery was a Newport man. The reason that his ship
 hailed from Barbadoes may have been because he had just purchased her
 there. On Feb. 2, 1702-3 this vessel was commissioned a privateer, at
 which time her tonnage was estimated at 180 tons.

²⁶ Salt Tortudas or Salt Tortugas, an island in the West Indies where
 salt was obtained, can be identified as the island of Tortuga that lies in
 latitude 11° N off the Coast of Venezuela. cf. Boston News Letter Dec. 1,
 1748. The English Pilot (p. 54, Fourth Book, London 1753) referring
 to the island of Tortugas which lies in 11° N off the west end of
 Margarita says: "And there is more salt than a thousand sail of ships can
 carry. All the Land from the Salt Pond to the Roads where Ships lie is
 hard strong Ground, but about a league E Ward the shore is sanday and
 even level with the sea water (where there is very good white salt to be
 had) by reason the Land is Low."

the place wee came from the next day following I diet my Endeaver to gett in but in Vaine the storme being soe Vilent & when I saw that thare was no possibelety of geting into the bay I and about seaven of the Clock on the twelf Day of august Stand away to the northward in order for Rhoad Island having that day overhaled my provitions and found it short not more on bord then five peses met²⁷ for Men & boys the Sd master not knowing what Damage may be done or Sustayneg Either to the Owners freighters merchants of this said Sloop by her proseedng hether before taking in her Laading or Clering according to Law at the usuale place of Officers Doth therefore according to the useuale Custom of Marrin affairs and the Laws thereof in such cases provided Solomnly . . . protest against the Sd Storme . . . for all and Every part of the Damage done . . . there by unto the owners freighters & merchants . . . done by mee . . . on board the Sd Sloop . . . this present Vouage

John Cranston

Sworne²⁸ the day and yeare Above Written Before mee
Samll Cranston Gov (II, 169)

²⁷ meat

²⁸ John Brown and Francis Pope sign as witnesses.

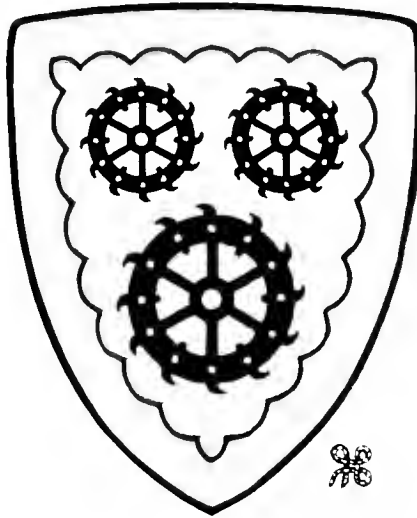
The Arms of Richard Scott

By RICHARD LeBARON BOWEN

It is claimed, but not proved, that the Richard¹ Scott* of Glemsford, co. Suffolk, England, who emigrated to New England, was admitted to the church at Boston, 28 August 1634, removed to Providence, R. I., was descended from the family of Scott of Scott's Hall, county of Kent, England.

Arms: *Silver three catherine wheels sable,
a border engrailed gules.*

Crest: *A demi griffin segreant sable,
beaked and legged gold.†*



*RICHARD¹ SCOTT, d. abt. 1680. [*Austin, Gen. Dict. R. I.*, page 372.]

JOHN² SCOTT, eldest son, d. 1677, said to have been shot by an Indian while standing in the doorway of his own house at Pawtucket Ferry. [*Austin, Gen. Dict. R. I.*, page 372.]

JOHN³ SCOTT, eldest son, b. 1664; his mother m. (2) 1678, when he was 14 yrs. old; his grandfather Richard d. when he was 16 years old; m. ELIZABETH, dau. of Edward and Elizabeth Wanton; sister of Col. John Wanton, and also aunt of Gideon Wanton, both Governors of Rhode Island. [*Austin, Gen. Dict. R. I.*, pages 373 and 215].

CATHERINE⁴ SCOTT, 3rd dau. and child, m. 1719, GODFREY MALBONE, Newport, R. I., merchant.

†*Burke's General Armory*, page 906.

Among the documents in the library of Frederick S. Peck, of Belton Court, Barrington, R. I., a descendant of Richard¹ Scott, is the original deed given by John³ Scott, grandson of Richard¹ Scott, dated 1712, signed by John and his wife Elizabeth, and sealed with red sealing wax. On examination of these wax seals the present writer discovered that the seal of John was of the conventional knurl design, while the seal of his wife Elizabeth was an armorial seal of *three catherine wheels, a border engrailed*, the same heraldic charges as on the arms of Scott of Scott's Hall. The shield shows no tinctures. Over the helm is a crest which is a griffin's head erased.

This is the first and only known American evidence showing that the Richard¹ Scott family of Providence, R. I., claimed connection with the Scott family of County Kent, England, which fact is now printed for the first time. It is also the discovery of a new coat of arms used in the English Colony of Rhode Island.

The Scott seal on this deed is apparently considerably older than the 1712 date on which it was used, and undoubtedly was cut in England, for on comparison the mantling and general characteristics are found to be very similar to the seal used by Richard² Smith, Jr., in 1671 on a letter to John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut. ‡

John³ Scott was a Quaker, which may have been the reason why he did not use his armorial seal. It was fortunate for those living 227 years after, however, that he permitted his wife to use it. Martin B. Scott,⁴ writing of the family in 1868, says:

“Had Richard Scott brought with him seals, or other emblems of his ancestry, a rigid Quaker of those times would have esteemed it a merit to destroy them; for scarcely a portrait is presented of the great and eminent Quakers of early times, so utterly did they detest the fashions of the world.”

‡Original letter in *Winthrop Papers*, Vol. 18, page 96, *Mass. Hist. Soc.*

⁴ *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, Vol. 22, page 17.

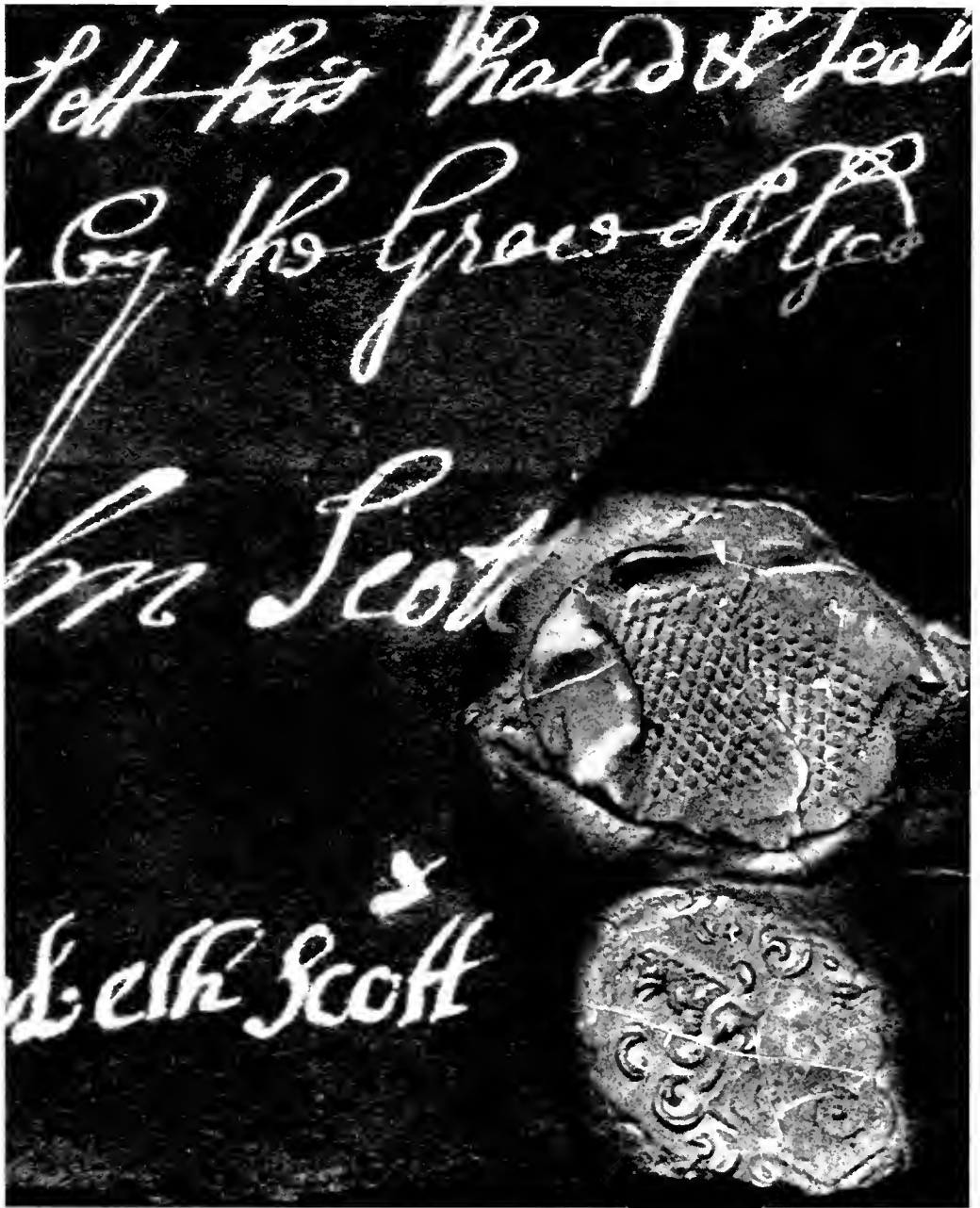
This Quaker theory does not quite satisfactorily explain, however, why John³ Scott used a plain seal, and his wife used his armorial seal, for the reason that her family, the Wanton's, besides furnishing four colonial governors, is known as the family of "Fighting Quakers." [*N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, Vol. 60, p. 174.]

Howard M. Chapin in *Colonial Heraldry*, page 40, cites a somewhat similar case, where in 1660 Richard Morris of Portsmouth, R. I., sealed a deed with some convenient plain object, and his wife Mary sealed the deed with an armorial seal, *a bend cottised three crescents*. These arms are not listed under Morris in *Burke*. The witnesses to the deed were William Dyre (alias Dyer) and William Baulstone, but the arms are not found in *Burke* under the name of Dyer nor Baulstone. In the *Gore Roll*, No. 29, however, is found a coat of the same charges for Gillis Dyer, colonel of the Governor's Life Guard and Sheriff of the County of Suffolk, Massachusetts Bay, under date of 1713.

Mr. William Allan Dyer has recently discovered a third use of these arms in America. "In the Massachusetts Archives [Vol. 129, p. 163] there is a power of attorney executed on 20 August 1688, by Mary Dyer of Sussex in Pennsylvania, widow of William Dyer, in favor of her son William Dyer. Mary Dyer signed and sealed this document in the presence of John Redwood and Samuel Atkins and used an armorial seal *a bend cottised three crescents*, impaling *a fess dancetty between three mullets*. It is indeed significant that another use of these arms by a member of the Dyer family has been discovered. The identity of William Dyer of Sussex has been established, as Major William Dyer, son of William Dyer, one of the founders of Newport." [*R. I. H. S. Collections*, Vol. 26, p. 76.]

The following is an abstract of the deed:

JOHN SCOTT of Newport in the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in New England, for £600 current money deeded to Charles Dyere of Dart-



PHOTOSTATIC ENLARGEMENT OF SCOTT SEALS ON THE DEED
OF JOHN SCOTT AND WIFE ELIZABETH, OF NEWPORT, R. I.,
TO CHARLES DYRE, OF DARTMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS,
DATED 25 JULY 1712.

*From the Original Deed Owned by Frederick S. Peck
Belton Court, Barrington, R. I.*

mouth, in the County of Bristol & Province of Massachusetts, Blacksmith, a Mansion house and 113 acres of land in Providence, about three miles from the salt water harbor in Providence, being the northern part of Antashutuck Minor Neck upon Neosaconkonit River, on the western, southern, and south eastern side of the river; also, two lots containing about 12 acres; a meadow containing 3 or 4 acres; a piece of Salt meadow containing 7 or 8 acres, and a piece of upland,⁵ etc. Together with all and singular the Rights, Liberties, Privileges, including Improvements, Outhouses, Gardens, Orchards, Fences, Ways, Wastes, Water Easments and Appurtenances to said house, lands, etc.

IN WITNESS whereof the sd John Scott hath hereunto Sett his hand & Seal this five & Twentieth Day of July in the Eleventh year of or Sovereign Lady Ann by the Grace of God of Great Britain & Ireland Queen, etc.
Annog Domi 1712

Sealed & Delivered in presence of

Joseph Fay

John Scott (Seal)

Tho. Makin

Elizabeth Scott (Seal)

[Prov. Deeds, Book 2, pp. 347-8]

To guard against the loss of this deed, or damage to the seal, with the consequent loss of the evidence, steps have been taken to make a proper record.⁶

⁵ These smaller parcels of land were deeded by Dyer 30 April 1713 to Nathaniel Browne, of Rehoboth, Mass., described as formerly belonging to Richard Scott. [*Prov. Deeds*, Book 2, pages 300-2.]

⁶ At a meeting of the *Heraldry Committee* of the *New England Historic Genealogical Society* held 29 April 1939, the seal on this original Scott deed was carefully examined under a magnifying glass by all the members of the Committee, Robert Dixon Weston, Harold Bowditch, M.D., George Andrews Moriarty, F.S.A., Rev. Arthur Adams, F.S.A., Richard LeBaron Bowen; and by Anthony R. Wagner, F.S.A., Portcullis Pursuivant, of the College of Arms, London, England, and previously by Howard Millar Chapin, and the arms on the seal were found to be *three catherine wheels, a border engrailed*, being the same heraldic charges as on the arms of the family of Scott, of Scott's Hall, co. Kent, England, and this fact was recorded in the records of the *Heraldry Committee*.

Antiques for February 1933 contained an illustration of a silver mug owned by Rev. Malbone H. Brickhead of Wynnewood, Pa., engraved with an impaled coat of arms, *gold two bendlets compony gules and ermine* for Malbone, *impaling Silver on a fess between three catherine wheels as many lambs passant* for Scott. Under the arms are engraved "Godfrey Malbone, 1742."

The *Collections*⁷ for July 1933 under *Heraldic Notes*, reproduced the picture of this silver mug, and said:

"The arms of Scott as engraved on the silver mug are the same as those of Thomas Scott of Great Barr, in Staffordshire, as illustrated on page 299 of the 1724 edition (also in edition of 1679) of Guillim's *Display of Heraldry*. In the text these arms are given as *argent on a fess gules, cottised azure, three lambs of the first, between as many Katherine-wheels sable*, but in the illustration the cottises are omitted. Dr. Bowditch suggests that the engraver may have merely turned to Guillim for a Scott coat, found that of Scott of Great Barr, Staffordshire, and then, overlooking the cottises in the description, copied Guillim's wood cut. He may have shaded the fess for artistic effect."

The discovery of this Godfrey Malbone mug of 1742 with the impaled Scott arms of a descendant of Richard¹ Scott in the fourth generation, the earliest record, and at that time the only known record of this family having used arms in America, was, to say the least, a shock to the genealogists who had been working on this Scott pedigree, for instead of being the arms of the family of Kent, they were the arms of another family in England by the same name, settled some two hundred miles north west in Staffordshire.

The use of these Staffordshire arms on this Malbone

⁷ *R. I. Hist. Soc. Collections*, Col. 26, pages 98-100.

mug made no sense, for as far as known, none of Richard¹ Scott's family came from as far north in England as Staffordshire, so here was a record of apparently the wrong arms being used, and the explaining away of this fact was just one more problem for the genealogist.

Now that we know that in 1712 John² Scott owned a Scott seal,⁸ thirty years before his son-in-law's silver mug was engraved in 1742 with an entirely different Scott coat of arms, we realize that Dr. Bowditch was right when he said in 1933 that the engraver didn't know the Scott coat and simply copied it out of Guillim. At any rate, the engraver evidently did not read the printed blazon, for the coat is incorrectly drawn in Guillim and incorrectly engraved on the cup. See illustration. Incidentally, it is the only Scott coat of arms in the book, so the engraver had to use this one or nothing. Also, which is interesting, Guillim lists no Malbone arms.

The date of 1742 on this silver mug seems to be significant, for on 29 April 1742 Godfrey Malbone, of Newport, merchant, purchased a farm of 366 acres with buildings, improvements, etc., at Jamestown, R. I., from Col. Francis Brinley,⁹ of Newport, for £10,248.

Malbone seems to have been setting up a pretentious establishment in Jamestown, and it might be that his merchant friends in Newport took this occasion to present him with an engraved heraldic mug. In that case, it might well have been kept a secret from both Malbone and his wife, which might account for the use of the wrong Scott arms.

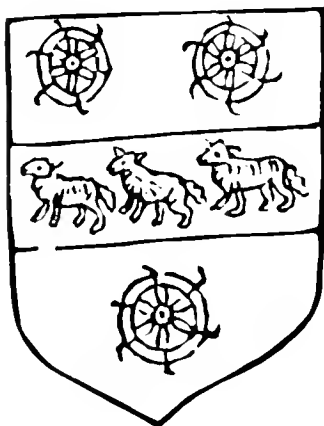
SUMMARY.

The possession of this Scott seal in 1712 by the wife of John² Scott, the grandson of Richard¹, the emigrant, proves conclusively that the early members of this family

⁸ Photostat of the seals and signatures in R. I. H. S. M. XI, 114.

⁹ *Austin, Gen. Dict. of R. I.*, page 257.

CHAP. VI.

A Display o

" He beareth *Argent*,
 " on a Fess *Gules*, cotti-
 " fed *Azure*, three Lambs
 " of the *First*, between as
 " many *Katherine*-wheels
 " *Sable*, by the Name of
 " *Scott*; and is born by
 " *Thomas Scott* of Great-
 " *Barr* in *Staffordshire*,
 " *Gent.*

PAGE 299, GUILLIM'S DISPLAY OF HERALDRY.

in America were using the arms of the Kentish family of Scott, of Scott's Hall. This Rhode Island seal is apparently earlier than the date of the deed on which it was used, because it shows wear, and so it may have been brought over from England. Even if it were cut in America, it would have been necessary for the family to have furnished the seal cutter with the blazon of the arms, for the reason that these particular arms do not appear in any of the six editions of Guillim from 1610 to 1724, nor is the present writer able to find the coat in any of the other less common early heraldic books.¹⁰ Guillim's Display of Heraldry was

¹⁰ An early "SCOTTE (Kent, added)" coat, 3 catherine wheels, a border engrailed, called "*late Tudor*," is shown on p. 200. Harl. MS. No. 6163, in *Two Tudor Books of Arms*, ed. by Joseph Foster, De Walden Library, 1904. This coat is perhaps a century earlier than the date Foster assigns to it, for Anthony R. Wagner, F.S.A., of the College of Arms, London, England, identifies this MS. in his new book, *Historic Heraldry of Britain*, p. 30, as: "Peter Le Neve's Book (British Museum MS. Harl. 6163). Painted Book c. 1490 and later, of some 2000 coats, incorporating a good deal of earlier 15th century matter."

the principal heraldic book used in America in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Glemsford, where Richard¹ Scott's father Edward was located, is a parish in the hundred of Babergh in the county of Suffolk, in the archdeaconry of Sudbury, and diocese of Norwich, and is located in the southwestern corner of Suffolk, within about a mile of the northern boundary of the county of Essex.

Smeeth, where the Scotts of Scott's Hall were located, is a parish in the franchise and barony of Bircholt, lathe of Shepway, county of Kent, in the "peculiar jurisdiction and patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury," and is situated in the southeastern part of the county, about seven miles from the English Channel, and about thirty-five miles southeast of the southern boundary line of the county of Essex.

Glemsford, Suffolk, is about eighty miles north of *Smeeth*, Kent. It is claimed that Richard¹ Scott's great grandfather, Edward Scott, moved from Kent and settled in Suffolk about 1575.

On the following page is a pedigree chart of the Richard Scott Family which shows clearly where it is necessary to do additional English research. This pedigree should certainly be traceable, for the parish registers of Glemsford, co. Suffolk, are extant and commence in 1550, and the proved part of the American end of the pedigree extends back into England to a time when people of this social and economic class left wills. Furthermore, it is known that there were Scotts settled early in Suffolk for a *John Skott* was assessed for the Subsidy at Glemsford in 1524.

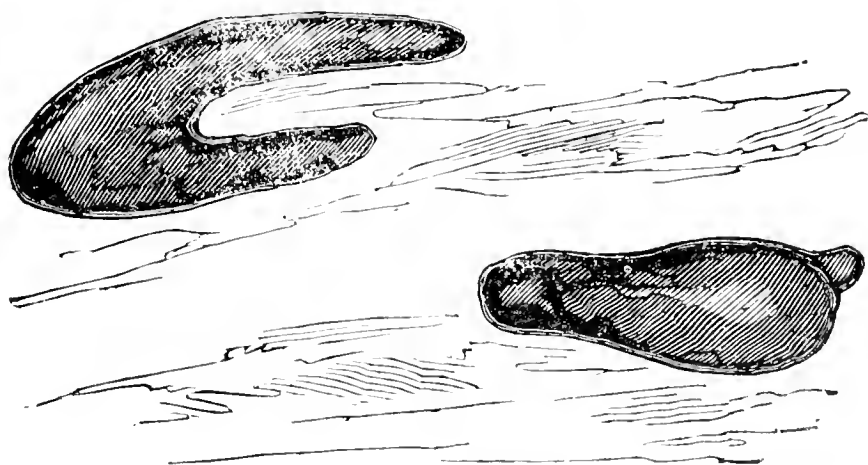
RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

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hoof, and the other has exactly the shape and size of a human foot, even the mark of a great toe being pointed out by the lad who explained to me the story. The steps are three paces apart, and appear thus—



The "Devil's foot marks," near Wickford.

FROM THE REPORT ON THE GEOLOGICAL AND AGRICULTURAL SURVEY OF
THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND BY CHARLES T. JACKSON, 1840, PAGE 87.

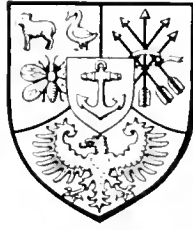
See page 110 of this issue of the Collections.

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RHODE
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HARRY PARSONS CROSS, *President*
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Pawtuxet and the Rhodes Family

By HORACE G. BELCHER

To the casual passer-by on busy Narragansett Boulevard or on Main street where the Greenwich post road begins on the Warwick side of Pawtuxet it was nothing more than wreckers tearing down an old house last March. But to the few that know Old Pawtuxet it was the destruction of a symbol of Pawtuxet's past glory. For some of the most vital phases of Pawtuxet's history had their origin in that house.

From it came a family group of manufacturers and merchants who controlled the prosperity and swayed the destiny of Pawtuxet for more than a half century, changing it from a shipping port to a mill village, replacing its declining West Indies trade with the clutter of looms at Pawtuxet Falls, at Bellefonte, Natick, Albion, Wickford and elsewhere, building homes for themselves still distinguished for architectural beauty and so stamping their family individuality on the old village that it might well have been called "Rhodesville" instead of by the Indian name for "Little Falls" by which it has been known since its history began, just over three centuries ago.

The return of the old place to the sleepy country village it remained until Edgewood began to grow up to it on the Cranston side and Lakewood on the Warwick, followed the ending of its industrial era when the Rhodes family ceased operation of the mills and when its members who had led this activity passed on or removed from Pawtuxet.

The house, one of the oldest of the group of Rhodes houses built in or near Pawtuxet village, stood at the bottom of Main street hill, first in the long line of dwellings extending along the west side of the old post road to Connecticut and New York. At the time of the Revolution it was the home of Captain Robert Rhodes, merchant and ship owner. Here were born Gen. Christopher and Col. William Rhodes who founded the manufacturing dynasty that brought to Pawtuxet a century or more ago, wealth and prosperity to replace the shipping trade for which it had been noted since long before the Revolutionary War.

From this house spread a wide influence. In the mansion next door, built by one of the sons born in the old house, the Providence Journal's most distinguished editor and Rhode Island's best known Secretary of State married into the family. The next house, up the hill, has a plate stating that the north end was built by James Rhodes in 1734, the south end added in 1774 by Malachi Rhodes. It is said that at one time every house on this side of the old post road from Pawtuxet bridge to the Golden Ball Inn, now the Cole farmhouse at the edge of Lakewood, was owned and occupied by a Rhodes.

The old house was a fine looking dwelling in its day, solid and substantial, expressing the plain, old-fashioned rugged individuality of Colonial times. Up to the opening of the century its front door had a remarkably fine brass knocker and the house expressed dignity and worth. In later years it grew seedy and neglected, yet it was in surprisingly good condition at the end.

Its age was uncertain. During the Rhode Island Tercenary a tablet was placed on it reading "Built by James

Rhodes, 1674.” This was removed when the historical committee responsible was reminded that records show every house in the Pawtuxet settlement was burned by Narragansett Indians in January, 1676, during King Philip’s War. And James Rhodes, son of Malachi and father of Robert, was born in 1711.

The land on which it stood was a part of that given by William Arnold, Pawtuxet’s first settler, to his youngest daughter, Joanna, on her wedding day, March 6, 1646, when she married Zachariah Rhodes, who had been living at Rehoboth, where his name appears with an estate of 50 pounds in the tax list of 58 inhabitants that year.

The land has remained in possession of the Rhodes family or its connections ever since, finally coming back to an Arnold. The original deed was made at Boston, for the Pawtuxet settlers led by Arnold, had then placed themselves under jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay Colony.

The Rhodes lands extended to Spring Green in one direction, to Norwood and beyond in another, as well as on the Cranston side of the Pawtuxet River. The family was a prolific one and as the eldest sons in earlier generations were named Malachi and in later generations James, it is not easy to follow. At one time, to judge from Revolutionary muster rolls, Pawtuxet must have been almost filled with Rhodes, leaving scant room for the Aborns—pronounced Eb-on in Pawtuxet until in recent years—the Sheldons, Remingtons, Smiths.

Zachariah Rhodes was drowned “off Pawtuxet shoare” in 1665. In his will he left to his sons Zachariah, Malachi and John when they should reach the age of 21 years, “the lands south of the Pawtuxet river.” Malachi died in 1682, leaving to his son Malachi “all housing and lands and half of his movables and chattels.” This Malachi died August 17, 1714, leaving to his son James among other things, “Two acres adjoining on Pawtuxet river against the falls,” undoubtedly including the site of the old house.

James was father of Robert, who was living in the house

at the time of the Revolution. The date of its building must have been after 1711, for a map of the "Proprietor's lots south of the river at Pawtuxet," drawn by William Hopkins and dated June 28 of that year shows no house on the west side of the old post road, although "John Rhodes house" is written on a lot opposite this location. The John Rhodes lot was intersected by Peck lane, leading to the town wharf, the house being on the section nearest Pawtuxet bridge.

When Narragansett Boulevard was laid out through Pawtuxet, a small building of evident great age, used in its later years as a bakery, was torn down to clear the tip of the V where Main street and the boulevard joined near Pawtuxet bridge. This building may have been the old John Rhodes house.

James Rhodes deeded September 6, 1770, to his son Robert, "a certain house and lot of land situate being in Pawtuxet in Warwick, about where he now dwells," which proved the house was built before that year. The 70-foot lot was bounded on three sides by land of James Rhodes, the fourth boundary being the post road. Robert Rhodes deeded it to his son Christopher, September 19, 1820, describing it as "the mansion house and estate whereon I now live." The deed was filed in 1821, after Robert's death. The property is now owned by the estate of George C. Arnold.

The wreckers who tore down the old house found only four large timbers showing signs of having been hewed out with an adze, these all being in the roof. The others had come from a saw mill and show very close joining. The Malachi Rhodes who died in 1714 owned one-half of a saw mill. He was a Deputy in the General Assembly in 1707, '08 and 1709, and in 1713 was appointed by the Assembly on the committee for making the public road from the Pawtucket River to the Pawcatuck River at Westerly, straight and passable. He saw to it that this improvement was applied to the section crossing the Pawtuxet at Paw-

tuxet bridge and running up Pawtuxet hill, past this old house.

The house had a direct view down Peck lane, laid out in 1734 as a town road, but existing long before this as an approach to the water front, where the town laid out two slips 20 feet wide at which Capt. Rhodes must often have seen his coasting and West Indies trade vessels moored. The lane still maintains its two-century record of never having been paved.

Robert Rhodes, termed Esquire in the old records to show his social station as a gentleman and a man of substance, got his title of Captain from service in the Pawtuxet Rangers, a military company incorporated in 1774 and serving in the fort on Pawtuxet Neck and elsewhere during the Revolutionary War. The company was in Gen. Sullivan's army at the battle of Rhode Island, August 29, 1779 and Captain Rhodes was with it.

He had ownership in vessels sailing from Pawtuxet before and after the Revolution, for Pawtuxet was a port of entry from 1790 when the Providence Custom House was established with a resident Surveyor at Pawtuxet, until 1912 and had a large trade with the West Indies dating back to the early part of the Eighteenth Century. It fitted out privateers during the Revolution and as late as 1832 some 30 schooners and brigs were registered as belonging there.

In 1790, when Zachariah Rhodes was Surveyor at the port, Capt. Rhodes was one of the owners of the sloop Sally, 46 feet 4 inches, 31 tons, built at Warren, 1785; and the Betsey, 86 tons, built at Barrington in 1788, sharing ownership in both with James Rhodes, "of Warwick, merchant." In 1792 he registered the Nancy, 23 tons, built at Rehoboth, 1790, with James Rhodes, Jr. "of Warwick, Esq." as co-owner. And he had other vessels as well. In the floor of the house was found a board six feet long and about eight inches wide, in which was cut in gilded letters, the name "Washington," apparently a ship's name board.

His son, Christopher, born August 16, 1776, was for five or six years before coming of age, on one or another of his father's vessels in the coasting and West Indies trade in which so many Pawtuxet vessels were then engaged that most Pawtuxet boys went to sea as a matter of course. Christopher was later in business with his father, their general store being on the ground floor of the old homestead just torn down.

Christopher and his brothers, William and James, all were born in the old house and all became leaders in Rhode Island manufacturing in the period when this State turned from shipping to looms. Christopher and William, as C. & W. Rhodes operated mills at Pawtuxet Falls, where the water privilege was first utilized by Zachary Rhodes, son-in-law; Stephen Arnold, son and Joseph Carpenter, son-in-law of old William Arnold, their grist mill being run for nearly two centuries.

C. & W. Rhodes built at Bellefonte, where they succeeded so well that they extended their business to Natick, where they owned about half the village for 45 years. From 1820 to 1823 they leased the Crompton mills, now the Crompton Company and later they had mills at Wickford and at Albion.

At Natick, when the first Natick mill was built, they were members of the company building it. In July, 1815, the first Natick Company was succeeded by three, one of them being the Rhodes-Natick Company. They retained one mill with 30 looms for making cotton cloth, and also had a grist mill and several tenement houses for the mill help. They sold this company in 1852 to A. & W. Sprague.

In the Bellefonte mill they are said to have made the first of the red tablecloths for years so popular on the kitchen tables of American working men and farmers. These were dyed a Turkey red, which gave the mill its local name of "Turkey red" still heard, although the mill was long since taken over for other uses.

Incidental to their manufacturing operations they estab-

lished the Pawtuxet Bank in October, 1814, erecting for its home the brick building still standing at Main and Bank streets, a stone's throw from the Rhodes houses. Gen. Christopher Rhodes was its president from 1847 until his death in 1861. The bank removed to Providence when the Rhodes firm extended its interests outside Pawtuxet and was located on lower Westminster street from 1845 until is closed in 1872. It was finally wound up in 1882.

The old bank vault, closed with a door of thick iron plates and locked with a massive key about nine inches long, is still in the old bank building.

The bank building, the long house and the tenement house beside it on Cole street, both built for mill tenements for the mill on the Warwick end of Pawtuxet Falls and the Rhodes residences are all that remains as reminders of Pawtuxet's prosperity as a mill village. The Warwick mill burned in 1859.

James Rhodes headed the firm of James Rhodes and Sons, who at one time operated the Pawtuxet mill and who are said to have made the first broadcloth in Rhode Island. His one sister was the mother of Robert Rhodes Stafford, who as Stafford & Co. also operated the mills at either end of Pawtuxet Falls. James Rhodes was engaged in business at Pawtuxet for 60 years. As the Honorable James Rhodes, he was a Presidential elector in 1808, the sixth Presidential election, casting his vote for the Federalist candidates, Charles C. Pinkney of South Carolina for President, Rufus King of New York for Vice President. He was several times a member of his party's conventions.

Each of the three built mansions still notable for beauty of design and finish and each of the three exercised a wide influence in the community and in the State. For generation after generation they controlled the destiny of Pawtuxet and made the Warwick half the more important and the business centre.

The Christopher Rhodes house, still standing beside the old homestead, dwarfed it in size and in its design is a fine

example of the Federalist period, although its situation on the sidewalk line and with others close on either side, detracts from its beauty. A drawing of its front door is shown in Antoinette F. Downing's "Early Homes of Rhode Island," where its date is given as 1800.

Gen. Rhodes married Betsey Allen of South Kingstown. In this mansion one daughter, Eliza A., married John R. Bartlett, Secretary of State from 1855 to 1872, the longest term of any secretary under the constitution. He is remembered for his 10-volume compilation of the Rhode Island Colonial Records from the founding of the colony to 1792. He was the father of Rear Admiral John R. Bartlett, U. S. Navy, who spent much of his boyhood in the old house at Pawtuxet.

Another daughter, Sarah A., here married Henry B. Anthony, editor of the Providence Journal from 1838 to 1859 when he was elected United States Senator, a post he held for a quarter-century until his death, September 2, 1884. In 1849 and again in 1850 he had been elected Governor of Rhode Island, declining a third term.

The third daughter married Joshua Mauran of Providence.

Gen. Christopher Rhodes got his title from election as Brigadier General of the Fourth Brigade of R. I. Militia in May, 1809. From May, 1828 to October, 1831, he represented Warwick in the General Assembly. From an early period he interested himself in the substitution of penitentiary punishments in place of the whipping post and pillory, then in use here.

In October, 1835 he was appointed by the General Assembly one of the building committee for erection of the State Prison near the Cove in Providence and on its completion was appointed one of its inspectors, an office he held until May, 1847. The State Prison stood near the site of the Rhode Island College of Education, at the foot of Capitol hill.

Mrs. Downing's book places the building of the home of

Col. William Rhodes, the junior partner, as probably about the time of his marriage in 1803 to Sarah Arnold. It is an imposingly large square-hipped roofed mansion standing well back from Main street nearly opposite Atlantic Avenue, at the edge of the village and is now owned by Joseph W. Grimes. The notably beautiful front and back parlors are shown in illustrations and the small gable-roofed porch is described in Mrs. Downing's book. The Christopher Rhodes house also contains an especially fine fireplace.

The grounds of the William Rhodes house are extensive, running to the Pawtuxet river. There was a story in Pawtuxet, years ago, that Col. Rhodes was responsible for that isolation which for so many years after the mills there ceased to run steadily, overcame the old place. It was said that when the Providence and Stonington Railroad was laid out, the engineers first planned to run it direct to the bay shore where the Harbor Junction line later reached it.

This would have sent the line through the present Lakewood and across the edge of Col. Rhodes' estate, to get to Pawtuxet and thence up the bay shore. The story goes that the opposition of Col. Rhodes was influential enough to change the route to the swing through Auburn which the railroad has ever since maintained, the result being to send Pawtuxet into a somnolence from which it did not emerge until the growth of Edgewood reached it, many years later.

Col. Rhodes was a director in the Pawtuxet Bank and was president of the Weybosset Bank in Providence from its founding in 1831 until his death in 1854.

Col. William Rhodes commanded the Pawtuxet Rangers but had retired when the organization was incorporated in 1812 as the Pawtuxet Artillery. In 1814, during the second war with England, the company appointed a committee to inform him of "the unanimous desire of the members of the Corps that he should resume the Command of the same, Particularly at the present critical Juncture."

The committee reported "that Col. William Rhodes had assented to become a member of the Corpse on the Condi-

tion of not being fineable for absence when the Company meet for exercising."

Robert Rhodes Stafford was then chosen Major, Sion A. Rhodes, Clerk and Treasurer, Charles Rhodes, second sergeant, Arnold Rhodes, third sergeant, Benjamin Rhodes, fourth sergeant.

The Pawtuxet Artillery manned the old fort on Pawtuxet Neck as its predecessor, the Pawtuxet Rangers had done during the Revolution. It lasted until 1847, four years after the State built for it a stone walled armory still standing at Bank and Remington streets, on the Warwick side of the village. Its two field pieces, which local tradition says came from the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, may be seen today in niches on either side of the main doorway to the armory of the Kentish Artillery on Main street, Apponaug. Henry Butler, Providence merchant living at Pawtuxet was its last Colonel, and maintaining the family tradition to the end—Christopher Rhodes its last Lieutenant Colonel.

James Rhodes, the oldest, was the first of the brothers to build a mansion. His was a two-story dwelling, erected about 1790 and standing where a garage is now located, next to the home of Capt. Robert Rhodes, close to the mill and near Pawtuxet Falls. The James Rhodes house was burned in the great Pawtuxet fire of May 2, 1859, when 28 houses were ablaze at one time. The mill on the Warwick side of the falls also burned, the fire originating there and jumping the bridge. The mill was then owned by John T. Rhodes, the heirs of Peleg A. Rhodes and the heirs of Capt. Pardon Sheldon. The mill on the Cranston side of the falls burned on the night of January 25, 1875.

The Warwick mill was built for a woolen mill, and at one time was rented by James Rhodes for the manufacture of cotton.

James Rhodes built on his farm which he named Choppe-quonsett, a short distance below the Ephraim Bowen house, between Fair street and Narragansett Bay, a large house of

different design from the others, but no less notable. The walls of its reception rooms were covered with hand printed wall paper made in England, which today would be considered museum pieces. This house was the most elaborate of the three built by Christopher, William and James.

The Rhodes family sold this estate in 1844, later owners being Gen. Charles S. James, inventor of the James rifled cannon and Nicholas Brown, whose wife planted many of the trees which made the estate so beautiful. Carrying a bag of white stones she walked about the grounds, throwing a stone over her shoulder at intervals. Wherever a stone fell, there was a tree of the evergreen family planted. The house was later bought by a group of prominent Providence men headed by Col. William Goddard, for a country club, but burned soon afterward.

The Wyman school now stands near its site and the south part of the old farm is the present Gaspee Plateau. The other part of the farm, containing St. Peter's Church, is also a real estate development already well built up.

Where Pawtuxet once seemed filled with Rhodes, only one family related to this group of manufacturers and merchants now remains on the Warwick side of the Pawtuxet river. And now the house that represented their start in industry, is gone.

New Interpretations of the Records of the Island of Rhode Island

By EDWARD H. WEST

When the Island of Aquidneck was settled it was probably done without any definite plans for future expansion, and the first settlement was made close to the first good landing place they found and possibly where a clearing could be made without too much difficulty. The site of

Newport was bound to be settled upon because of the splendid harbor there, but it is doubtful if any of the settlers saw that harbor until long after they had built their homes near the cove where they first landed.

Before the first year was over the number of inhabitants had increased greatly and, although Thomas Bicknell says there are no records of any denominational differences, it is unreasonable to suppose that three such determined leaders as William Coddington, Samuel Gorton and Anne Hutchinson, each with altogether different ideas, could get along together in such a small place. Each of them had his own following, and a combination of any two of these factions was bound to overpower the other. That is what actually happened. The Gorton and Hutchinson factions combined, for the time being, were enough to overthrow the influence of William Coddington, a condition which resulted in the founding of Newport by the Coddington group.

In a letter to John Winthrop, dated 9 Dec. 1639, William Coddington says about this factional difference and his overthrow, "It was hatched when I was last in the Baye." This was probably about the 9th April 1639, as it was on that date that William Coddington sold to William Tynge, for a mere thirteen hundred pounds, all his houses and lands in Boston and Mount Wollaston. Perhaps it would be well to digress from the Island records and to refer to the Boston records to show the reader who believes that all transactions of those early days were as honest and simple as one could wish, that politics and intrigue were not then unknown or unpracticed.

The day after the sale of the Coddington property, it was mortgaged by Tynge to Coddington, but this was not all, as an agreement was made whereby William Coddington was to have a right to cut, reap and thresh all his corn now planted. Also to have liberty to plant a great part of this land "this spring," as well as cut, reap and thresh the corn, with chamber room to put it in. Also cellar room for

milk, house room for servants, and house room for thirty head of cattle until the end of the next winter, and liberty to "fetch away" all his cut wood, timber, and felled trees. When one reads the dedication of John Callender's "Discourse" it is plainly seen that Callender had not read the "Note Book of Thomas Letchford," in which the sale, mortgage and agreement between William Coddington and William Tynge is recorded. Callender said that Coddington "Quitted his large property and improvements at Braintree for peace sake," but he certainly kept control of it for some time after he "quitted."

From the records of the Island it is impossible to tell just when the trouble started, but at a meeting of the freemen, the 6th 2nd mo 1639, when a place for the impounding of cattle was ordered, it was ordered to be "sett up in some convenient place to each towne." From this it would seem that already another town had at least been discussed. The records of the meeting held the 28th 2nd mo 1639 are very scant, and we will have to draw on conjecture to get any idea of what happened at this meeting, which caused the Coddington faction to withdraw and to found a new town. Perhaps William Coddington had not returned from "the Baye," and was absent from this meeting, thus giving the conspirators an opportunity to change the form of government. According to the records, the only business brought up concerned a debt owed Jeffrey Champlin and William Cowlie by William Aspinwall, for which a warrant was granted for an attachment on the shallop owned by Aspinwall. This, as far as William Dyre, the clerk, was concerned, was all the business transacted, and it is very probable that he closed the book, and left the meeting. It is also very probable that the friends of Coddington held a meeting elsewhere, for their argument to "Propagate a Plantation in the midst of the Island or elsewhere" was supposedly written on that same day. There can be no doubt that those remaining at the meeting held an election, and elected William Hutchinson the Judge, and also other

officers. But as they had no book to record their minutes, this formality was done away with until they procured a book. The first records in this new book, now called the "First Book of Portsmouth," tell one of the most peculiar stories of those days, and they will be taken up in a future article.

One of the strange things about the Agreement made by the Coddington faction, is the fact that it was never signed. To be sure it bears the names of nine men, but they were all written by William Dyre at a much later date. This peculiar condition of the records has not been especially mentioned in the various accounts of those times, (with the exception of Mr. Howard M. Chapin, in his "Documentary History of Rhode Island," and he did not tell the whole of the story) but seems to the present writer to be very significant. The agreement was written on a fresh page, as if Dyre was bound to have the new plantation start with a clean sheet, but a close study will show that he must have turned over several leaves of the book before starting to write the records of Newport. The above agreement is to be found on page 11, and at the bottom of page 14 is the following note—"These two leaves were torne out by ye G Court March ye 16 1641 & these two forgoing containe the same orders being again written." Now that was written on these two leaves that the Court took exception to? That is a question never to be answered; nor can one tell how much of those two leaves were "again written," or whether it was written from memory or from the two leaves. If from memory it may have been inaccurate. One other fact about the names under the agreement is that Dyre did not use the same kind of ink as was used in the body of the agreement, but used the ink with which the "two leaves" are written, hence the names were probably not written until the two leaves were "again written," over two years after the agreement was supposedly made.

As so much has been said about page 11 in the Records of the Island of Rhode Island, I think that it would be well

to bring up another subject which is based on the material found on that same page. The name *Pocasset* is supposed by most people to indicate the town of Portsmouth. How much proof have we that Portsmouth was ever called Pocasset? Certainly none from any of the letters of Coddington, nor from the Journal of John Winthrop, who always referred to the Island as "Aquiday." The name occurs twice on page 11, first at the top of the page and then in the stated bounds of Newport as "Lands lying Northward & Eastward from sd Towne towards Pocassett for the space of five miles." Note that it does not say towards the *Towne of Pocassett*. The name occurs in the records of a meeting held the 25th 9 mo 1639, at Newport, when it was ordered "that those Commissioners formerly appointed to negotiate the Business with our Brethren of Pocassett." This was three months after the freemen of the upper end of the Island had voted to call that town Portsmouth. There is but one other mention of the same in the records, and that is in the division of the land of William Coddington in 1640, where Pocasset highway is mentioned as a bound. John Callender, in his Discourse, does not go so far as to give this name to the town, but supposes it to mean the upper end of the Island. Most writers have spoken of Portsmouth as first being called Pocasset, seemingly because some one else said it. If this name was given to the town, would it not have been used in the records (it is always spoken of in the records as "this town") and in the letters of the times? And if it was so named would not the freemen have voted to *change* the name to Portsmouth, and not just have agreed "to call this town Portsmouth"?

Perhaps the answer to this lies in an order in the First Book of Portsmouth, when, at a meeting held on the 4th of the 12 mo (1640) in one of the torn records is the following —

"it is ordered that Mr Porter
to lay out for Mr Samuel Hutchinson
in the south east neck in the Comon (fence)

unto them both Ruphus Barton to have
Mr Samuel Hutchinson to lye next
of Seven Acres in PoeChasset feil(d)”

This south east neck in the Comon fence is the neck which ends with Hummock Point. This can be seen from a deed dated 16 Dec. 1659 (First Book, 309) Richard Bulgar to Richard Hart, “3 acres in the south east neck of the place commonly called the Comon fence, bounded on the north by land of Richard Bulgar, on the east by the Pocasset river, on the south by a salt pond and a beach, and on the west by the Great cove.” Peter Talman acquired this land with other lots, and Peter Talman Jun. sold it to Thomas Durfee, 8 June 1683 (R. I. L. E., 1-169). The deed reads as follows—“in the place commonly called the Comon fence—8 acres—bounded northerly by the land of Richard Bulgar, easterly by the Pocasset river, southwardly by the hummock Comonly called Samuel Hutchinsons hummock, westwardly by the great cove.”

This gives us without any doubt the location of Pocasset Field, on the Pocasset River; the nearest field to the place called Pocasset, later the Pocasset Purchase. It is this field which I believe was meant when reference was made to Pocasset in the early records. It was not a town, but a definite location to which they could refer, as “in the direction of,” or “the highway to.” A peculiarity about the word Pocasset at the top of page 11, is that it appears to have been written with the same ink as the later entries, and not the ink used in the agreement. From the above evidence I believe that the name Pocasset should never be applied to Portsmouth, as a town, and if used at all, should be applied to part of the first, or temporary settlement. I say temporary, although it was probably not regarded as such when it was started, but it proved so when the permanent town developed a little farther south, and the former settlement became farm land.

Another popular misconception concerns “the spring” which is mentioned in the early records, the general idea

PORTSMOUTH.

1638 - 42

MOUNT HOPE BAY

COMMON FENCE POINT

BRISTOL
NECK

HOG ISLAND

BRIDGE

COMMON FENCE

POCASSET

RIVER

HUMMOCK

POINT

SANFORDS

COVE

SOUTH FIELD

STONE

BRIDGE

SARCA NET RIVER

PRESENT ROAD TO BRIDGE

THE LIVINGSTON

FOUNDRY

AND

STREET

BUTTS

HILL

EAST ROAD

- A. WILLIAM CODDINGTON
- B. JOHN CLARKE
- C. RANDAL HOLDEN
- D. WILLIAM HUTCHINSON
- E. SAMUEL WILBORE
- F. WILLIAM BAULSTON

- G. NICHOLAS EASTON
- H. EDW. HUTCHINSON SR
- I. EDW. HUTCHINSON JR
- J. JOHN SANFORD
- K. JOHN COGGESHALL
- L. WILLIAM DYRE

- 1. RICHARD HAWKINS
- 2. PHILLIP SHERMAN
- 3. SAMUEL GORTON
- X. NORTH FIELD
- Y. WEST FIELD
- Z. GREAT FIELD
- EDWARD H. WEST.

being that Founders' Brook (as it is called today) was the spring referred to in all the records. A study of the two sets of records will readily show that this is not so and that there were really two springs, some distance apart. The second order made at the first meeting held on the Island, 13th 3rd mo 1638, says "it is also ordered that the Towne shall be builded at the spring, and Mr William Hutchinson is granted and to have six lots for himself & his children, Layd out at the great Cove." The third order says "also that a Generall ffence to be made from Baye to Baye, Above the head of the spring, with five rayles." Had the spring (now called Founders' Brook) which is mentioned so many times in the "First Book" in regard to the location of the town lots, been meant, the Common Fence would have been located near the present Sprague Street, a condition which could not easily be fulfilled according to the description of the land in the deed of Nicholas Easton. This deed describes Easton's lot as being bounded on the Great Cove, and lying partly within and partly without the Common Fence. This spring is now nearly dried up, but the head of it is still seen in the form of a pool.

It must be remembered that when the settlement was first made there were less than twenty-five families, and the site picked out for the town was amply sufficient. But with the advent of many more people, this place proved too small and after the founding of Newport the town was built along the second spring, which is now called Founders' Brook. Evidence of this can be found in the "First Book" which although torn, still gives an idea of the number of house lots granted along this brook in the first few months, after the separation.

When the first settlers sold their lands the deeds were very vague, and it is almost impossible to locate the sites with any degree of accuracy. The sites marked on the accompanying map will give a general idea of where the lots of some of the first settlers were located. No deeds are recorded of the sale of some of these lots, but the sites

may be discovered in recorded deeds when the unrecorded lots are mentioned as boundaries.

Between the lots of Nicholas Easton and Edward Hutchinson, Sr. was the land of Nicholas Brown, which he sold to John Wickes, he selling it to Samuel Hutchinson, 3 March 1640. Whether Samuel Gorton had any other lot than the one shown on the map, I have been unable to discover. Not all the house lots, as shown on the plat of the town, were allotted after Newport was founded, as even before the separation the number of families arriving made necessary the use of some of this land for house lots.

Although this article takes issue with many of the popular beliefs about the settlement of the north end of the Island, and seems to be in contradiction of many of the historian's accounts, it is based solely upon a study of the actual records. The man who writes a history of a state can not possibly take the time to study the history of each town as it should be studied, and he is bound to miss some of the important items, especially if the records are torn and the ink faded. The town of Portsmouth has a very fine set of records which, if used in connection with those at Providence, gives a description of the building and the progressive growth of the town, surpassing the accounts of most of the early settlements of this land. But they must be read and studied, and the results must be arrived at without partiality, preconception, or inherent sympathies.

New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

Merchants and Mansions of Bygone Days by Elton Merritt Manuel is a pamphlet of 32 pages published in 1939 at 32 Clarke Street, Newport, R. I.

Historical Sketch of the Baptist Church in Exeter, Rhode Island by Mary Kenyon Huling of Lafayette, R. I., is a pamphlet of 27 pages.

Miss Caroline Hazard's *The Golden State* is a 39 page booklet of her poems, published by the Schauer Printing Studio, Santa Barbara, California.

Newport Music in the XVIIIth Century. Charles Theodore Pachelbel and the Berkeley Organ at Trinity Church, Newport, R. I., is a recent pamphlet by Erich Taylor of Newport.

Notes

Mr. Colin MacR. Makepeace has presented to the Society two lithographed sheets of counterfeit Providence postage stamps to be added to the Slater collection of originals, restrikes, and counterfeits of the Providence postage stamps.

An anonymous friend of the Society has presented the Devil's Foot Rock to the Society to be held as a public historical outdoor museum to preserve the famous Devil's Foot mark of Indian tradition.

See Providence Sunday Journal, July 23, 1939, Charles T. Jackson's report on the Geology of Rhode Island, and "The Fones Records."

A Correction

In an article on *John Carter* by the late John Carter Brown Woods, in the Collections for October 1918, Vol. XI, p. 107, the word "Unitarian" should read "Universalist."

A Journal of My Visits to Rhode Island April 17, 1776

By W. ROGERS ¹

April 17th, Wednesday.

Left Philadelphia at 9 o'clock A. M. in the Bordentown Stage Boat, My Family well. Billy innoculated ye Monday before ye 2d Time for ye Small Pox. Got to Bordentown in 4 hours. Din'd, Sup'd & Lodged at my good Friend's Mr. Borden's.

Thursday ye 18th. At Sun Rise took seat in ye Flying Machine for South Amboy. Breakfasted & Din'd at Public Houses on the Road. Arrived at 6 P. M. My Fellow Passengers so complaisant as to abstain from using bad Language. An agreeable Disappointment! Cross'd the Ferry to North Amboy, view'd ye Town, Saw Mrs. Marsh, return'd the same Evening, sup't & Lodged at South Amboy. My spirits rather low.

Friday ye 19th. Breakfasted at South Amboy, went on Board Passage Boat at 8 A. M. for New York, obliged to come to Anchor for 2 or 3 hours but ye Wind breesing up fresh & fair weighed Anchor & got to New York at 1/2 past

¹ William Rogers was born 1751, July 4, in Newport, and died 1824, April 27, in Philadelphia. He was the first student in Rhode Island College in Warren September 1765, and for a couple of months was the only student there. He received from the college the degree of A.B. 1769, and A.M. in 1772, and also received honorary degrees from the College of Philadelphia 1773, Yale College 1780, College of New Jersey 1786, College of Philadelphia 1790. He was a Brigadier Chaplain in Pennsylvania Line U. S.A. 1778-81. He was Professor of oratory and belles-lettres College of Philadelphia 1789-92, University of Pennsylvania 1792-1811, and held many other important public offices.

He was a brother of John Rogers, my great-great-grandfather, who was a trustee of Brown University 1798-1810. The original diary is in my possession and I have had a few copies made and distributed in case the original is lost. — THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN.

5 P. M. Providentially met with a sloop called ye Macaroni bound to New London, just had Time to get my Trunk on board & without an Opportunity of seeing any of my Friends or Acquaintances push'd off from ye wharf at 6 P. M. with Fair Wind & Tide. Run all Night. Slept but little as my Birth was very hard & the Cabin much crowded with Passengers. The Commander of ye Sloop was once Capt. Rogers of New London. Upon Enquiry found ourselves to be of Different Families. He behaved with great Civility! The Vessel a Prime Sailor!

Saturday 20th. The Wind fair & fresh. Breakfasted with small Appetite. My mind much agitated between my Mamma on ye one side & my Billy on the Other. Arrived at New London at $\frac{1}{2}$ past One P. M. A fine Passage! Dined at one Douglas's a Public House — Towards Evening waited upon Capt. Shaw where I understood Capt. Hopkins of ye Cabot lodged. Received an Invitation to Stay there! Accepted as I was a Stranger in Town! Sup'd with ye Commodore & about 11 went to Rest amazingly fatigued.

Sunday ye 21st. Much refresh'd with the Preceeding Night's Sleep. Breakfasted at Capt. Shaw's in Company with ye Commodore, his son etc. May I always remember with Gratitude ye Kindness shown me by Capt. Shaw & Lady! At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 A. M. went on board ye Macaroni to proceed to Norwich Landing in Company with Capt. Billings. In 2 hours we went on shore — we had to sail only 14 miles. Dined at a public House, the Keeper's Name was Mr. Backus. After Dinner went to the Presbyterian Meeting — heard one Mr. Judson preach, his Text Eph. 2. 10 — A Child was christened. I felt no Fellowship with this Invention of Man's. After Service enquir'd ye Way to Coll. Malbone's, a valuable Gentleman who resided in ye Town of Newport till ye late Troubles & with whom I was well acquainted — he & Family very glad to see me & intreated me to stay with them that Night. I accordingly did — The Lord reward them!

Monday ye 22d. Breakfast being Ended walk'd to Norwich Town with Capt. Malbone. Din'd at his Father's — Spent ye afternoon at the Landing — could get no Horse to proceed on my Journey. Lodged again at ye Colls. Felt my Anxiety concerning my Mother increase as I got nearer home, not being capable of obtaining any Information whether she was alive!

Tuesday ye 23d. Arose very early — my Trunk sent away in a Waggon — by Coll. Malbone's friendly Aid obtain'd an horse for myself. Set off instantly for Providence in Company with Capt. Billings who was to take ye Horse back. Din'd at Mr. Dorrance's in Volentown. Reached Providence towards Evening, lighted & with a trembling heart went in — found my dear Mother very low indeed lying stupid & insensible — her Disorder being principally in her head & of ye nervous convulsive kind. She knew me not — my heart was full — Lord, what is Man! Here I saw Granmamma, Aunt Thurston, Becky, Abby, Dan'l. & Family, etc. etc. All well as usual! In the Evening was visited by President Manning. After Supper & Prayer retir'd to Rest.

Wednesday ye 24th. After Rising went in to see Mamma, she was lying in One of those Fitts of which I am told she has had many, from Morning till Night she thus continued without taking any Notice of Persons or things — Dr. Arnold coming I was very particular with him respecting her Disorder. He told me it was not explicable & intimated yt. All Hope was gone. We all expected she could not continue long. Din'd at Home — P. M. went to see Mr. & Mrs. Manning drank Tea & return'd. Sat part of ye Evening at Cousin Sweeting's. At Bed Time Mamma no better. I never expected she could without Immediate Relief live till Morning. My Fortitude was gone but Religion was my Stay.

Thursday ye 25th. Our dear Parent was reliev'd in Some measure From her preceeding Day's Illness & talk'd considerably but entirely flighty. She still knew me not but

call'd me at different Times by different Names — my Situation was peculiarly trying! — Din'd at Home — Trunk arriv'd — Lydia's Cloaths all Safe & undamag'd. In ye Evening went to Conference at Baptist Meeting. Paraphras'd on a Few Verses out of 1st Thess: 5th Chap; was much comforted; Spoke to Several of my old Acquaintances was desir'd to visit them. The Cause of Jesus here appears to have many Advocates! May they go on & prosper —

Friday ye 26th. We discover'd a Surprising Alteration in Mamma for ye better. Joy sat on our Countenances! Tho' for ye greatest Part of ye Morning She was prodigiously out yet about Noon She talk'd quite rational & repeatedly called me by Name. In ye Afternoon She sat up for 2 or 3 hours in ye easy Chair & was quite compos'd — Dr. Arnold encourag'd upon finding an Evacuation of Matter from ye Head. Spent ye Day at home till just at Dusk — was in hopes of hearing from my Wife & Child but did not. Previous to going to Bed Mamma desir'd me to attend Evening Prayers in her Room. This Day Dan'l & Nancy went to Housekeeping. Capt. Whitman call'd to See me.

Saturday ye 27th. Mamma much the same as ye preceeding Day — only rather more free from Bewilderment — a happy Change! Din'd at home P. M. President Manning & myself waited on Gov. Cooke — drank Coffee There. Spent ye Evening in Retirement to prepare for The Sabbath.

Sunday ye 28th. Preached in ye Morning & at Candle Light for the President, Felt much Freedom. The President preached in ye afternoon himself from St. Math: 28.18. Dined at his House — At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4. One Mr. Waterman was baptised, many People present. Drank Tea at Dan'l's in Company with Mr. Hardy of Philada. Mamma this Day no better & we hope no worse Than yesterday. She sat up a little & was at Spells Something flighty. We are fearfully & wonderfully made! — Repair'd to Bed considerably fatigued as is usual with one after Engagedness in Preaching —

Monday ye 29th. Mamma not quite so well tho' very comfortable & much compos'd in Mind. Visited several of my Friends — Din'd at Mr. Dabney's. Call'd to see a Sick Woman, convers'd & pray'd with her, she appear'd to be under much Soul Concern. Uncle Thurston came up, was extremely glad to see him — May we all be prepar'd to meet in Heaven —

Tuesday ye 30th. No material Alteration in our dear Mother. Din'd at Cousin Sweeting's with Uncle Thurston — PM heard Mr. Snow preach before an Independent Company from Luke 3.14. There were many anxious military Remarks in the sermon to some people perhaps acceptable. Drank tea at Mr. Foell's & spent ye evening at Daniel's. Forwarded a Letter per Post to my Wife at Philada. and another to Robert at Westerly. For ye most Part of this Day it was very rainy.

Wednesday May ye 1st. About 9 o'clock Mamma had a Fit of ye convulsive kind intermix'd as ye Dr. says with something of the Apoplexy, at 12 she had another, both were short but hard, out of each she recover'd in the free Exercise of Reason and manifested by her conversation & Deportment the utmost Resignation to the divine Will! All of us much shock'd. The great Jehovah prepare us for whatever may await us! This Day was ye Gen'l. Election for ye Colony, the Gov. Council & House of Deputies were escorted to ye Court House & back again by 2 Companies belonging to ye Town. I din'd at Mr. Wellcome Arnold's. Saw many of my Newport Acquaintances. Tommy Gair call'd to see me, he expects to settle at Medfield. He appears promising. Received a Letter from Bobby pressing me on my Return to stay a Night with him at Westerly.

Thursday May ye 2d. After Breakfast Uncle Thurston Aunt Fanny took leave of ye Family & set out for Newport. Din'd at Mr. Foster's. In the Afternoon visited Commodore Hopkin's Family, drank Tea There. Mamma all this Day long very stupid & insensible having in the Morning

had 2 Fitts — much Discourag'd — our Hope gone! May God of his infinite Mercy draw nigh unto her and put underneath her his everlasting Arm! Spent ye Evening at home — endeavor'd frequently to talk with Mamma but it signify'd nothing —

Friday May ye 3d. Mamma this Day as yesterday exclusive of ye Fitts. She took a Psike which operated gently — nature appears to decay fast. The western Post arrived. Received a Letter from my dear Wife of ye 27th. Ult. Herself well & my sweet Boy like to have ye small pox. Favorable, for which may ~~we~~ ye Parents praise the Lord & be enabled to Dedicate him to ye service of his all gracious Preserver. Din'd at Danl's, very agreeably entertain'd. At 4 o'clock P. M. set out for Warren, arrived between 6 & 7. Drank Tea at Mr. John Child's — sent for Mr. Thompson, he came, talk'd as much together as ye Time would allow — went to Cousin Comer's, spent a very sociable Evening — the Family all well! Sup'd, attended Duty and Repair'd to Bed.

Saturday ye 4th. Breakfasted at Cousin Comer's — left there at 9 o'clock A. M. — got to Newport at One — put up at Uncle Thurston's, after Dinner saw Brother Johnny, Aunt Sanford, Cousin Abby, etc. — all in usual health! P. M. visited ye Battery at ye Point, a surprising Alteration in the Town! Oh that our Affection may be wean'd from ye. Things of Time & sense! The Lord hear the Prayers which are daily put up in Behalf of the Place & still spare it for his People's sake. Drank Coffee at my worthy Uncle's. Afterwards took a little walk. In the Evening Dr. Easton call'd to see me. Supper & Family Prayer being over went to Bed. Much cast down upon hearing a Relation of the Distresses the dear Inhabitants have had to pass through — forgot to mention that in Crossing Bristol Ferry saw a Fort building & was informed that on ye Rhode Island side a Place was also mark'd out for One for ye. Defence & Security of that important Pass — No Men of War in ye Harbor.

Sunday ye 5th. Preached both Parts of ye Day for Uncle Thurston. Ye House fuller than I expected, so many People having left ye Town — felt very comfortably. In ye Afternoon sat down at ye Table of ye Lord — would to God I could enjoy such opportunities frequently — saw many young Newport Friends & Acquaintances — greatly pleas'd with ye Solemnity apparent among the Negro Members at ye Time of Communion. Breakfasted & Din'd at Uncle's — Drank Tea at Aunt Sanford's, Johnny with me. In ye Evening call'd to see Cousin Burroughs who is far gone in Consumption — pray'd with him, he appear'd resign'd to ye divine Will—After spending a few moments with him repair'd home.

Monday ye 6th. Breakfasted at Uncle Thurston's. In Company with him din'd at Bro. Johnny's apartment. Wrote a Letter & sent it per post to my dear Mrs. Rogers, visited some few families. P. M. Coll: Richmond waited upon Uncle & myself to the Battery which is with much Spirit erecting at Brenton's Point near ye mouth of ye harbor, the Inhabitants of Newport work here in Rotation. After this ye Coll. went with us to ye Fort on Goat Island, Breastworks are here carried up with great Rapidity & appear vastly advantageous. Drank Coffee at Wm. Anthony's who lives in One of our houses — ye other 2 are also occupied. All Rent free — The Fences round our several lots & useful Garden taken away entirely & burnt, such Havoc mine Eyes never before beheld! Houses torn to Pieces etc. Johnny towards Evening walk'd with me about ye Town — call'd on Uncle Rogers — rather Fatigued which made me anxious to seek after Refreshment in ye Arms of Sleep.

Tuesday ye 7th. Purpos'd this Day returning to Providence but it being rainy was detain'd in Newport. Breakfasted & Din'd at Uncle's — After Dinner went to ye Printing Office & drank Coffee with Mr. Southwick. Towards Evening call'd on Bro. Johnny & took a walk to ye Point Fort. In the Evening waited on Dr. Stiles at Mr. Trevett's,

Our conversation wholly political, the Dr. is a very curious Gentleman — heard that 22 Towns in the Government were for Independancy — the Upper House chose not to meddle with it untill establish'd by Congress — they voted out taking ye Oath & Allegiance.

Wednesday ye 8th. After Breakfast took Leave of John-ny, Aunt Thurston etc. & set out for Providence. Uncle accompanied me 8 Miles from Town — Oh that I may treasure up in my Memory the excellent Advice given me by a Friend so sincere! In Bristol call'd upon Cousin Comer & Family but did not light from my horse — got to Warren little after 12 & din'd at Mr. John Child's, visited Mr. Thompson & Mr. Lyndon. About Noon it began to Rain which render'd the latter part of my Journey very disagreeable so that by ye Time I reached Providence I was thoroughly wet, it being 5 o'clock P. M. when I arrived — Mamma I found extremely low, having had while I was absent several other Fitts, to me there appear'd a visible Change, her Countenance savor'd more of Paleness & her Strength almost gone, she was lying very stupid & insensible. Mr. Hardy of Philada. supp'd with us — having attended Prayer in Mamma's Room was desirous of Rest being much fatigued with my Day's Ride.

Thursday ye 9th. This morning Pricilla Brown came to our House — Breakfasted at home — walk'd out — Din'd at home. In ye Afternoon rode 2 or 3 miles with Mr. Manning, upon my Return discover'd an affecting Alteration in my dear Mother — we with other Friends present judg'd her to be near her End. How severe ye Rod! Went to Bed expecting every Moment to be call'd up to see her no more a living Person! Her Strength far gone as to incapacitate her for Conversation. Wrote a Letter to Uncle Thurston upon ye subject. Felt much Dejected —

Friday ye 10th. This Day Mamma no better, All of us much alarm'd — How awfull is Death in his Approach! Many Friends visited us but alas they cannot supply ye Place nor make up ye loss of ye best of Parents! Tarry'd

at home excepting a walk after Dinner to ye Post Office in hope of hearing from my Wife & Child but was sorrowfully disappointed. Mr. Manning in the Evening pray'd with the Family—When we are about being depriv'd of any earthly Blessing how are we taught to prize ye same—Oh for submission to ye Will of God who does what is Right.

Saturday ye 11th. A Day ever to be remember'd by us, at 12 o'clock A. M. our dearest Mother Departed this Life, she dyed seemingly with greater Ease than any of us had Reason to Expect—Oh that my last End may be like her's! Blessed are they who dye in ye Lord! May Jehovah be a Friend to ye Motherless & a Father to the Fatherless! Oh that all of us may be preserv'd as in ye hollow of his Hand! Concluded to have the Body carried to Newport & interr'd by the side of her Husband and Children—Sent off Mr. Ingraham express to Newport & Westerly—Visited & assisted by a Number of Friends! In the Evening Mr. Manning call'd and pray'd with us—"Lord, have Mercy upon me and so teach one to number my Days to Apply my heart with Wisdom"—Heard that Mr. Pechin of Philada. an Acquaintance of Mine had come to Town, sent a Serv't. to learn whether he had brought any Letters for me. None sent. A Circumstance wch had a Tendency to add to my Grief—surely my dear Wife was ignorant of an Opportunity wch would have prov'd so favourable.

Sunday ye 12th. Arose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 in ye Morn. A number of Friends came to our House and after taking Breakfast we went with the Body of our dear Mother to the Passage Boat & got underWay a little before five—6 of us Children accompanied with Mrs. Manning, Gran-mamma, Becky, Sanford, Sally Drown, George Benson, John Jones & Mr. Godfrey—the Wind tho' at first flattering yet in less than 2 hours breez'd fresh and fair so that we got to Newport all safe at 10 o'clock. The meeting with Bro: Johnny, Uncle & Aunt Thurston & other Relations upon an Occasion so sorrowfull was truly affecting—like

Job & his Companions we were all a considerable Time mute, The Body was taken to Uncle's—We all spent ye Day there together, many call'd in to see & condole with us. In ye Evening there was a Conference at Uncle's. Mr. Bliss attended & Much comforted us in Exhortation and in Prayer—Over Fatigue of Body & Mind almost Overcome me—"Oh my dear Mother, would to God I had dyed for Thee, but his Will be done." When my Father & Mother forsake me, the Lord will bear me up.

Monday ye 13th. Having lodg'd at Uncle's slept all Night better than I expected. In ye Morning awoke with a bad Head Ach—Rob't arrived before Breakfast very much fatigued—8 of us ye surviving children at ye dear Deceased now together. Wrote a Letter to my Wife & One to Mr. Trickett & sent them away per post—Cousin Comer got down. My Spirits very low—P. M. People met for the Funeral, at 4 o'clock the Corpse was taken to Uncle's Meeting House where a suitable Sermon was preached on ye Occasion by Mr. Wm. Bliss from Rev. 14:13. "And I heard a Voice from Heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the Dead which dye in the Lord, from Henceforth" A very respectable Concourse of People present. After Sermon we went to ye Grave and paid ye last kind Offices to ye precious Relicks of our dearest Mother—where she is to sleep until ye Resurrection of the Just—How doubly near do my Brothers and Sisters seem now—God grant that we may all be One in Grace as we are in Nature—Retur'd to our dear Friend's & Father's habitation and in the Evening enjoy'd much X-tian Conversation.

Tuesday ye 14th. Breakfasted at Uncle's—Walk'd out with Rob't to see some of our Acquaintance, Din'd at Aunt Sanford's—P. M. Rode with Josey to Cousin Stoddard's, drank Tea there, had considerable Conversation on serious Matters with Polly & Abby. Spent ye evening at Mr. Barker's, return'd to Uncle's, sup'd, attended Duty & went to Bed.

Wednesday ye 15th. About 12 o'clock myself and Fam-

ily took leave of our Newport Relations & set out for Providence in Wescott's Packett—arrived at 4 P. M.—At 6 One of ye Frigates was launch'd—Drank Coffee at home—Spent ye Evening at Mr. Brown's in Company with Dr. Morgan of Philada.

Thursday ye 16th. This Day remarkably warm. Mr. Lopez came to view our house & engages to take it at ye Rate of 130 Dollars pr. year, if he stays in it a shorter Time, he is to give more—Went to Presidt. Manning's & din'd there—Josey &c busy in measuring & taking an Acct. of ye Shop Goods—Drank Coffee at Danl's in Company with Mr. Pechin. Return'd home, in the Evening we look't over ye Money appertaining to ye Estate—as an Adjustmt of temporal Matters among us becomes necessary in Consequence of our Mother's Death.

Friday ye 17th. This Day was observed as ye general Fast advertised by Congress—Went to Baptist Meeting. Mr. Manning & myself carried on ye Forenoon Service by Reading, Exhortation & Prayer—In ye Afternoon he preached an excellent Sermon from Isaiah 58.1. After Service walk'd home with Mr. Manning and tarried there till Evening—Spent ye Evening at Mr. Carter's the Printer of ye Providence Gazette —

Saturday ye 18th. Uncle Thurston came up to assist us—din'd with him at Danl's. P. M. Wrote a Letter to my dear Hannah and to Mr. R. Jones & Spent y'm by Mr. Jno Brown. Visited by Mr. Nathan Cole of Rehoboth who was formerly at my house in Philada. with Mr. Winchester.

Sunday ye 19th. A. M. Presidt. Manning preached a Sermon to ye Family upon Acct. of our Mamma's Death from 1 Cor: 7.29—31.—A very suitable Discourse, the Advice given to ye Children God grant we may all Remember & put in Practise—P. M. 2 O'clock I preached from 2 Kings 20. 1. last Clause—At 6 Uncle Thurston preached from Philip: 4.4 People very attentive—This day din'd at home—Spent part of ye Evening at Mr. Nicholas Brown's—

Monday ye 20th. At home all Day, employed in prising & dividing ye household Furniture—Visited by Cousin Sweeting & Mr. Godfrey—

Tuesday ye 21st. Early in ye Morning Uncle Thurston went away—Employed all Day & in ye Evening as ye preceeding Day—In ye Afternoon Mr. Pechin of Philada. call'd & drank Tea with us—

Wednesday ye 22d. This Day busy upon the Same Matters as took up my Time on Monday & Tuesday.

Thursday ye 23d. Finish'd ye Sale of Household Furniture among ourselves & in ye Afternoon had a Vendue for what Remain'd. Mr. Backus in Town & visited me; Sup't. at Danls. went to Cousin Sweeting's & lodged.

Friday ye 24th. Din'd at Nicholas Brown's wth Robert—Post got in, no Letter for me. Busy at Abby's ye main Part of ye Day in Estate Matters. Sup't & Lodged at Cousin Sweeting's—

Saturday ye 25th. A. M. Danl. Set out for Newpt. to have Mamma's Will proved. Din'd at Cousin Sweeting's. P. M. Employed in looking over Some Family Papers. In ye Evening Return'd to where I had lodged ye 2 preceeding Nights—previous to going to Bed Spent a few moments in Meditation.

Sunday ye 26th. Attended Baptist Meeting and preached in ye Morning. Mr. Manning preached in ye Afternoon from 2. Cor: 3.18. In the Evening we went to ye Society & I expounded the 7th Chap. St. Mathew. Afterwards agreeable to promise went to Nich's. Brown's at whose house I tarried all Night. Din'd at Abby's & drank Tea at Mr. Manning's.

Monday ye 27th. Breakfasted at Nich's. Brown's in Company with Mr. Binney. Din'd there also—spent ye major Part of ye Day in walking about. In ye Evening repair'd to Presid't. Manning's and tarried all Night. No material Occurrence!

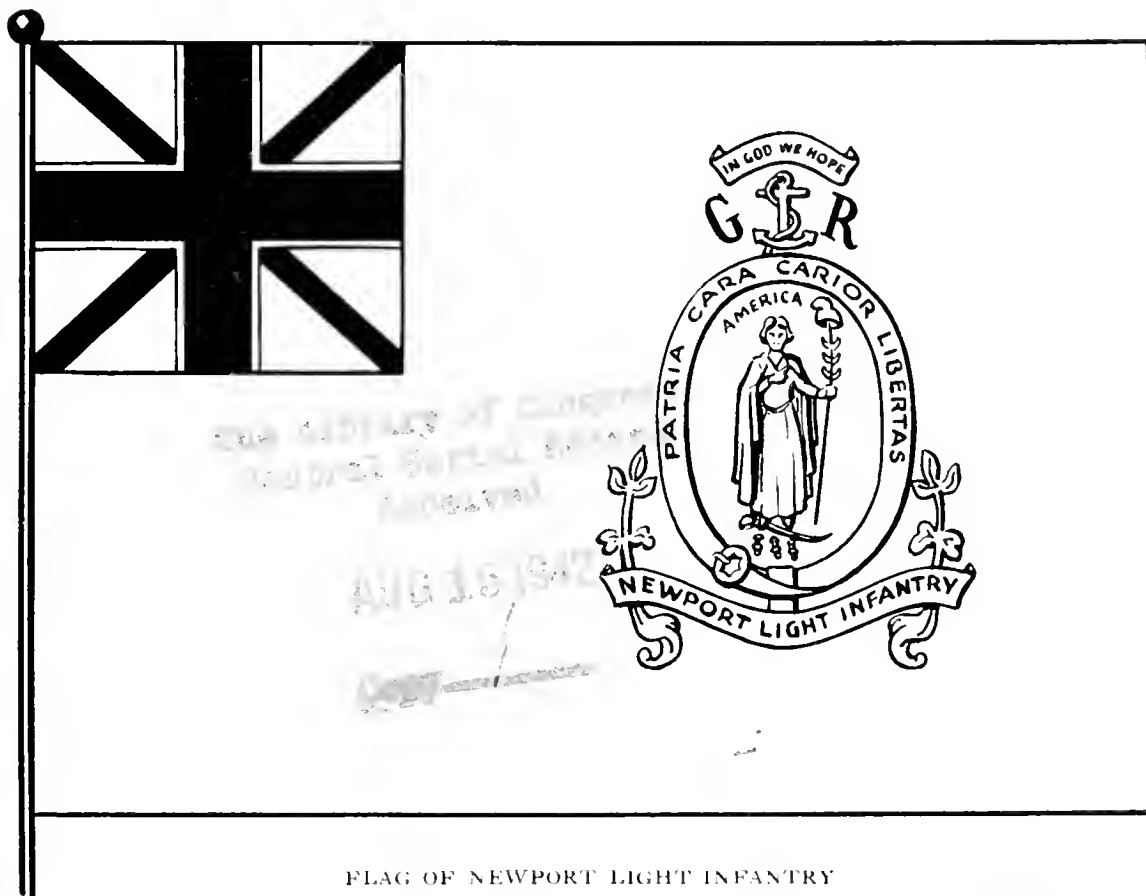
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VOL. XXXIII

JANUARY, 1940

No. 1



FLAG OF NEWPORT LIGHT INFANTRY

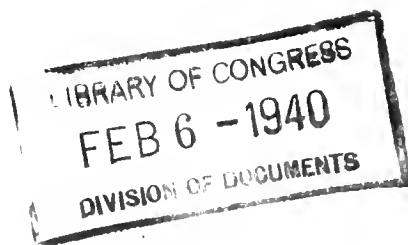
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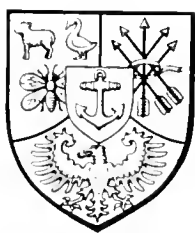
68 WATERMAN STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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No. 1

HARRY PARSONS CROSS, *President*
WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER, *Secretary*

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The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

The Newport Light Infantry

By PAUL FRANCIS GLEESON

The Newport Light Infantry was one of that group of military companies incorporated just prior to the Revolution by the General Assembly. Some of the others chartered at this time were the Providence Grenadier Company, Pawtuxet Rangers, Scituate Hunters and the Kentish Guards.¹

In the early autumn of 1774 a group from Newport formed this new military organization. These men viewing with much concern "the low State of Military Discipline in this Colony" wished to form a company to perfect themselves in the same "by more frequent and regular Exercises than can be had in the Militia in its present State."² As a result, the General Assembly, at its session on the last Wednesday in October, was petitioned for a charter.

This document, which was prepared by the company and which was passed by the Assembly, with certain modifications, reads as follows:

¹ Richards, John J., *Rhode Island's Early Defenders*, pp. 18-19.

² *Petitions to the Rhode Island General Assembly*, Vol. 15, p. 115.

“WHEREAS the Preservation of this Colony, in Time of War, depends, under God, upon the Military Skill, and Discipline of the Inhabitants: And whereas a Number of the Inhabitants of the Town of *Newport*, to wit: *Jabez Champlin*,³ *Caleb Gardner*, *Elisha Lawton*, *Benjamin L. Peckham*, *Samuel Spooner*, *Samuel C. Carr*, *Joseph Hill*, *George Gardner*, *Jonathan Wallen*, *Noel Allen*, *Jonathan Simmons*, *Lemuel Bailey*, *William Tew*, *Moses Watson*, *James Cullio*, *Philip Moss*, *Henry Dayton*, *Wing Spooner*, *Nathaniel Otis*, *Samuel Stevens*, *Thomas Stevens*, *Joseph Whicher*, *Thomas Hughes*, *John Topham*, *Hezekiah Dayton*, *Robert Dunbar*, *Stephen Hawkins*, *Nathaniel Gladding*, *James Bell*, *Samuel James*, *Jonathan Yeates*, *John Stevens, jun.*, *Jeremiah Phillips*, *William Donham*, *Nathaniel Jenkins*, *Joseph Lyon*, *William Tripp*, *Thomas Dunton*, *Jonathan Pierce*, and *R. Remold's Barker*, have offered themselves to begin, and, with such others as are, or shall be, added to them, to form themselves into a Company, by the Name of the *Newport Light Infantry*, in the County of *Newport*, and by their humble Petition, prayed this Assembly, to grant them a Charter, with such Privileges, and under such Restrictions and Limitations, as this Assembly might think proper:

“WHEREFORE, this Assembly, in Order to give all due Encouragement to so laudable a design, have Ordained, Constituted, and Granted, and by these Presents do Ordain, Constitute, and Grant, That they, the Petitioners before-named, together with such others as shall be hereafter added to them (not exceeding the Number of One

³ Jabez Champlin was born on August 31, 1728 the son of the second Christopher Champlin. He was long prominent in the military and civil life of Newport County. In 1776, in his capacity as High Sheriff, Champlin took the charter out of the house of Governor Wanton when the latter refused to take the oath of office. Having achieved the rank of Brigadier-General, he resigned from the command of the Newport and Bristol County Brigade in May, 1793.

Hundred, exclusive of Officers) be, and they are hereby, declared to be an Independent Company, by the Name of the *Newport* Light Infantry, for the County of *Newport*: And by that Name they shall have perpetual Succession, and shall have and enjoy all the Rights, Powers, and Privileges, in this Grant hereafter mentioned.

“IMPRIMIS, It is granted unto the said Company that they, or the greater Number of them, shall, and may, once in every Year, that is to say, on the last Tuesday in *April*, meet and assemble themselves together, in some convenient Place by them appointed, then and there to chuse their Officers, *to wit*: One Captain, Two Lieutenants, One Ensign, and all other Officers necessary for training, disciplining and well ordering of the said Company — At which Election no Officer shall be chosen, but by the greater Number of Votes then present: The Captain, Lieutenants, and Ensign, to be approved of by the Governor and Council, for the Time being, and shall be commissioned, and engaged, in the same Manner that other Military Officers, in this Colony, are.

“SECONDLY, That the said Company shall have Liberty to meet and exercise themselves upon such other Days, and as often, as they shall think necessary, and not be subject to the Orders or Directions of the Colonel, or other Field-Officers of the Regiment, in whose District they live, in said Meeting and Exercising: And that they be obliged to meet for Exercising, at least, Four Times in the Year, upon the Penalty of paying, to and for the Use of the said Company, the following Fines, *to wit*: The Captain, for each Day's Neglect, Forty Shillings, lawful Money, the Lieutenants and Ensign, each Twelve Shillings, lawful Money, the Clerk, the Sergeants and Corporals, each Twelve Shillings, lawful Money, and the common Soldiers each Six Shillings, lawful Money, to be levied by Warrant of Distress from the Captain or Superior Officer of said Company, for the Time being, directed to the Clerk.

“THIRDLY, That the said Company, or the greater Number of them, shall have Power to make such Rules and Orders, among themselves, as they shall think necessary to promote the End of the Establishment; and to lay such Fines and Forfeitures upon any of their own Company, for the Breach of any such Rules and Orders, as they shall think proper, so as the same exceed not Twelve Shillings, lawful Money, for any Offence. And also shall have full Power to levy the said Fines and Forfeitures, they shall so impose, by a Warrant of Distress from the Captain or superior Officer of the said Company, for the Time being, directed to the Clerk.

“FOURTHLY, That all those that shall be duly inlisted in the said Company, so long as they shall continue therein, shall be exempted from bearing Arms, or doing military Duty, Watching and Warding excepted, in the several Companies or Trained Bands, in whose District they respectively live; excepting such as shall at any Time be Officers in any of the said Companies.

“FIFTHLY, That the commissioned Officers of the said Company, from Time to Time, shall be of the Court-Martial, and Council of War, in the Regiment in whose District they live.

“SIXTHLY, If any Officer, or Officers, of the said Company shall be disapproved, by the Governor and Council, or shall remove out of the said Town of *Newport*, or shall be taken away by Death, that then, in either of those Cases, the Captain of the said Company, or the superior Officer, for the Time being, shall call the said Company together, as soon as conveniently may be, and choose another, or others, in the Room of such Officer or Officers, so disapproved, removed, or taken away by Death, in the same Manner as is herein before-described.

“SEVENTHLY, And for further Encouragement of the said Company, it is further Granted to the said Company, that the Captain of the said Company shall be of the

Rank of a Colonel, the First Lieutenant of the Rank of a Lieutenant-Colonel, the Second Lieutenant of the Rank of a Major, and the Ensign of the Rank of a Captain.

“EIGHTHLY, That the said Company, in the Time of an Alarm or general Review, shall be under the immediate Direction of the Captain-General of the Colony; and shall hold the Rank, and Station, of the First Independent Company, in the County of *Newport*: And that the Officers be commissioned accordingly.

“Which aforegoing Charter was Voted to be accepted, and to pass as an Act of this Assembly: And it is Ordered, that the Secretary draw a fair Copy of the said Charter, sign the same, affix the Colony Seal thereto, record it in the public Records, and present the said fair Draught, signed and sealed as aforesaid, to the said Company.”⁴

On the same day, October 28, 1774, when this act was adopted, the following were approved as officers for the new company: Jabez Champlin, captain, Caleb Gardner, first lieutenant, Elisha Lawton, second lieutenant and Samuel Spooner, ensign.⁵ Within two weeks, however, two of these resigned, Caleb Gardner being succeeded by Charles Spooner on November 21st, and on Dec. 2d Elisha Lawton's position being filled by James Tew, jun. The record of these changes sent to the Governor and Council for their approval was witnessed by Benjamin L. Peckham, clerk of the company.⁶

Many of the Newport people supported this new organization, one of the most active being the Hon. Henry Marchant, Attorney-General of the Colony. On November 15, 1774, the latter wrote as follows to John Hancock in Boston concerning the possibility of securing arms and colors for the new chartered command:

⁴ *Rhode Island Acts and Resolves*, October, 1774, pp. 93-97.

⁵ *Petitions to the Rhode Island General Assembly*, Vol. 15, p. 115.

⁶ *Petitions to the Rhode Island General Assembly*, Vol. 15, p. 119.

“Honored Sir,

The publick Light you so honorably stand in throughout at least our American World will bring upon you some Inconveniencies, if not Impertinent Applications. I am afraid mine will be One; but I make it to oblige others and in so doing to oblige myself.

A Military Spirit is diffusing itself with the greatest Rapidity thro’ every Part of this Colony. Several Companies are formed and forming in this Town. I am desired by one of those Companies to enquire at Boston whether Sixty or Seventy neat good Arms can be purchased there and at what Price. It is desired their Colours should be made of the neatest, best Silk of a blue Ground with the Union at One Corner, and upon a Square in the Center it is my Idea to have a Female Figure representing the Genius of America Standing erect with a Staff in her Right Hand and the Cap of Liberty upon the Top of it. In her left Hand, either the Bible or America’s Bill of Rights, and under her Feet, Chains, the Badge of Slavery. The following Motto in some proper Place: *Patria Cara, Carior Libertas*. And, if a proper Place can be found, to have the Colony Arms, being no more than a plain Anchor.

What is desired of Mr. Hancock is that he would inform me respecting the Fire Arms and apply to Mr. Copely to know what he would undertake to furnish the Silk and to paint Them for (the Colours). Mr. Hancock’s and Mr. Copely’s Advice is asked as to the above Design, with such Alterations and Amendments therein as their better Taste and Judgement shall with Freedom point out. And this is desired, tho’ Mr. Copely’s Terms for executing Them should be beyond what the Company may be able to comply with, as in that Case they must submit to an Inferior Hand here. Mr. Hancock will much oblige the Company here and the more so shall I be obliged, if he will pardon this Application from his

most obedient humble Serv^t

H^y Marchant

To the Honorable
J^{no} Hancock, Esq^r
in Boston”⁷

No action resulting from this request has yet been discovered. There is evidence that the Light Infantry possessed arms by the first of April 1775, but it is not certain that these were purchased in Boston. There is no doubt, however, that it would have been impossible for Copley to have painted the colors, as he had left for London in June, 1774.⁸ Unless some other Boston painter was engaged, they were probably executed in Newport.

There may have been some delay in securing either arms, colors or uniforms, for the first public appearance of this company did not take place until April 3, 1775. On the morning of that day there was a general muster of the four companies of the Newport militia consisting of about 250 men. As the Light Infantry numbered 47, there were then about 300 men under arms.⁹ At ten o'clock they marched to the house of Henry Marchant in front of which the battalion was formed. Mr. Marchant then appeared and presented Colonel Champlin with a suit of colors for the new command. This “pair of colors” consisted of the Newport Light Infantry flag and presumably the Union flag then called the “King’s Colours.” After these had been handed to the ensign who displayed them in front of the chartered company, the Attorney-General made the following address:

“Gentlemen of the Newport Light Infantry

FROM a sincere desire of promoting and encouraging the military spirit diffusing itself through this town, colony, and America, I here present you the colours to be born by

⁷ From a copy of the original letter that was forwarded to the writer by the late Miss Susan S. Brayton, author of the mss. biography of Henry Marchant.

⁸ Amory, M. B., *The Domestic and Artistic Life of John Singleton Copley*, p. 27.

⁹ *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, Vol. I, p. 530.

your Ensign; and I shall esteem myself highly honored by your acceptance of them.

I have endeavored to throw such figures and devices into them as may lead you to an attention to the great objects which ought to possess the mind of every American soldier,—every friend to his country.

By the female figure, you have AMERICA, your native country, presented to your view, which will justly demand your protection when in danger — by the CAP of LIBERTY, upon the staff, which she holds in her left hand, and points at with her right, you will be led to contemplate the importance of liberty, civil and religious, to man:—An existence without liberty cannot be wished for; every other possession, nay, our country itself, would lose every enchantment, deprived of her all enlivening principle: therefore adopt the motto *Patria cara, carior Libertas*.

The BROKEN CHAINS and SWORD, under her feet, may intimate to you that the principles of true liberty diffused through America will ever prevail over violence and oppression.

Carrying these principles into practice, the ANCHOR, the arms of our colony, placed over America, will lead you to a well grounded HOPE, that, by adding thereto unanimity, wisdom, firmness and virtue, we shall succeed in the righteous struggle, and secure to ourselves and posterity, the invaluable rights, liberties, privileges and happy constitution, which the God of nature hath transmitted to us, through our pious and venerable ancestors.

Adopt with a Christian sincerity, the motto placed above the anchor, IN GOD WE HOPE,—act worthily your part for God and your country, and you have the God of your fathers with you, and who then can be against you?

Let loyalty to your King, a love to your country and its laws, a zeal for liberty, and a full faith and confidence in Heaven, actuate you through life, so will you gain the love, veneration and esteem of your country, and the world of mankind for your admirers.

Permit me to say, I cannot but feel myself concerned and interested in every part of your duty,—that it may be discharged to the public acceptance, and thereby to your own honor and approbation: To this great end nothing can more contribute than an entire confidence in, and high respect for, the officers of your country:—And I am sure those gentlemen, elected by yourselves, cannot fail of affording every proof of the wisdom of your choice, since they will meet, in return, with every satisfaction that a generous officer can wish, from a company of gentlemen, delighting in military order, and filled with the noble sentiments of liberty, honor and friendship.”¹⁰

At the conclusion of the speech, the company fired a volley, and then marched up on the hill where they went through the manual of arms and other exercises. The Light Infantry must have put on a brave show in their new uniforms as, with colors flying, they went through their manoeuvres before their admiring fellow-townsmen. In describing the scene, Ezra Stiles wrote in his diary that “The Light Infantry made a fine Appearance, & performed the Exercise and Manoeuvres with a Dexterity equal to any Regulars. They gained themselves great Honor . . .”¹¹ Such an event as their first public appearance called for a celebration, and so, at one o’clock, the entire company paraded to a public house for a dinner. After such an arduous drill it is not surprising that the gentlemen were all very dry, and found it necessary to slake their collective thirst with seventeen or eighteen toasts. The first of these was to the King, the last to America. Among the others there was one in honor of Henry Marchant, “who generously presented the Newport Light Infantry with their colours.”¹²

After the banquet the company paraded “in very regular order” through the principal streets of the town and finally

¹⁰ *Newport Mercury*, April 17, 1775.

¹¹ *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, Vol. I, p. 530.

¹² *Newport Mercury*, April 17, 1775.

halted upon the public parade. There, fronting the Court House, they went through their "firings" midst "universal approbation."¹³

Two rather interesting observations might be made with regard to these toasts. In the first place, although it is by now common knowledge that the colonies steadfastly proclaimed their allegiance to the King while constantly quarreling with the king's ministers: both Marchant's speech and the toast to the King give further evidence of this feeling in Rhode Island. This, to a certain extent, amounted to a demand for a position similar to that of the present Dominions—local autonomy while joined in a common loyalty to the Crown.

The second observation refers to the toast offered in honor of Henry Marchant. From the words used it would seem as though he had purchased the colors himself, and then had presented them to the company. This is in sharp contrast to the contents of the letter to John Hancock from which it would appear that Marchant was merely acting as agent for the command. This may well be explained by the possibility that Marchant, the Attorney-General, believed it necessary for the Light Infantry to have proper distinctive colors even though its funds were insufficient to bear the cost.

The speech which Henry Marchant delivered contains important additional material with regard to the flags carried by the different chartered commands throughout the colonies. This newly discovered data adds to the very meagre material available concerning colonial military flags. That of the Newport Light Infantry, however, is the only one certainly known to have been carried by a New England chartered foot company in the colonial period. The device on this flag is very similar to that on the cap exhibited at the Royal United Service Institute at Whitehall, London. See *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections*, October, 1934, and *Emblems of Rhode Island*, p. 29.

¹³ Ibid.

It will be noted that there are several changes between the flag suggested to Hancock, and that presented to the command in April 1775. In the final design the staff surmounted by the liberty cap was shifted from the right hand of the female figure, America, to her left, and the representation either of the Bible or "America's Bill of Rights" was omitted. Marchant had suggested that chains be placed beneath the feet of the female figure, but the finished flag had not only broken chains, in that position, but also a sword. The "proper Place" that was asked for the motto was found on a garter which surrounded the figure, America. Beneath this the name of the organization may have been inscribed upon a scroll. Above, in all probability, was to be found the anchor, the arms of the colony, surmounted by the motto — IN GOD WE HOPE — and between the letters G.R., for the insignia on the flag and that on the company cap were doubtless the same.

Just who was responsible for these changes in the design is not now known. It may have been Marchant himself, Hancock, the officers of the command, or more probably the unknown artist who painted the flag. Actually it is immaterial just who made the changes, but it would seem that the result was an improvement upon the first suggestion.

Both designs undoubtedly carried the union of the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew in the canton, in accordance with the British military usage of this period. Finally there is no reason to believe that the color of the field was shifted from the blue first proposed by Marchant.

Although there were a large group of people in Newport in sympathy with the aims of the new organization, some were definitely opposed to it. A representative of this Tory or loyalist faction pasted the following notice upon one of the doors of the Court House in mid-December 1774:

"To the military gentlemen who are now forming themselves in companies, seemingly with a vain design to oppose his Majesty's troops, or other loyal subjects:

Permit me, as a true friend to Liberty, to advise you, intrepid Gentlemen, to desist from your apparent rebellious proceedings, as I'm by a letter from Boston, well-authenticated, informed that the Captain of the man of war, stationed here, has actually orders from his Excellency Gov. Gage, to take in hold all such persons as shall appear under arms, to acquire the manual exercise (prompted by a few vicious, designing, men) with the simple idea of intimidating, or repelling, the legal authority.

Britons strike home, &c.

"N. B. Take care, Americans, remember the Scotch deluge in 45 and 46."¹⁴

The military companies, not at all abashed by the above warning, struck back vigorously in the next issue of the *Newport Mercury* with an answer which read:

"Whereas an infamous piece was pasted upon one of the doors of the Court-house, in this town, on the evening of the 14th inst. highly reflecting on the Military Companies lately formed in this town: a copy of which was published in the *Newport Mercury* last Monday; whoever will discover the author of said piece, and produce sufficient proof to convict him of having wrote the same, shall receive TWENTY DOLLARS reward, by applying to the Captains of said companies."¹⁵

Although the above notice ran in three issues of the paper there is no evidence that the writer was ever discovered.

Of the later history of this chartered command little is known. At their April meeting in 1775, Jabez Champlin was reelected captain and Charles Spooner, first lieutenant. Philip Moss now succeeded James Tew as second lieutenant, and Samuel Spooner was made ensign.¹⁶ The same

¹⁴ *Newport Mercury*, December 19, 1774.

¹⁵ *Newport Mercury*, December 26, 1774.

¹⁶ *Rhode Island Acts and Resolves*, May, 1775, p. 4.

officers were reelected in May 1776, and then, as usual, were approved by the Governor and Council.¹⁷

It is fortunate that Ezra Stiles noted in his diary two of the activities of this company during the month of May 1775. For the first time since 1663, General Election Day was held in Providence and not in Newport, and Stiles recorded that "The Day has been melancholly. However the Light Infantry above 40 of them appeared in their Uniform, made a very fine Appearance, & marched all over the Town;—" ¹⁸ This might be taken as representing an attempt on the part of the command to bolster up the morale of the Newporters. Later in the month, on May 25th, when "Cap^t Jn^o Topham marched with Comp^a of 60 Men completely equipt from this Town for the Army at Roxbury. A number of the Light Infantry & others armed marched out with them: so that the whole Train consisted of about 100 armed Men . . . This Eveng. at IX o'Clock the Light Infantry returned." ¹⁹ The escort provided by the latter company was undoubtedly to make certain the safe passage of the Bristol Ferry by the men headed for Roxbury.

The command was undoubtedly scattered at the time of the occupation of Newport by the British, and most of the company was probably absorbed into the armed forces of the state. As examples of this break-up of the command, the census of 1777 records that Jabez Champlin of Newport was a transient in Charlestown, and the second lieutenant, Philip Moss, was now listed at Warren, as a transient from Newport. The Newport Light Infantry seemingly never recovered its identity, following the shock of the Revolutionary years. Although the charter of the Newport Artillery Company, first granted in 1741, was revived in 1792, and that of the Kentish Guards (1774) was issued again in 1797, no attempt seems to have been made to bring back to life the Newport Light Infantry.²⁰

¹⁷ *Rhode Island Acts and Resolves*, May, 1776, p. 48.

¹⁸ *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, Vol. I, p. 544.

¹⁹ *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, Vol. I, p. 562.

²⁰ Mss. Report on Chartered Commands, 1821, State Archives.

A Journal of My Visits to Rhode Island April 17, 1776

By W. ROGERS

(continued from vol. XXXII, p. 128)

Tuesday ye 28th. Took Breakfast at ye President's between 11 & 12 o'clock Danl. return'd from Newport & Uncle with him—Din'd at Danls., after Dinner—we all met at Abby's & divided ye Bonds, Money &c. Received a Letter from Ezekl. Robins of New York. Favd. by Mr. Cooper—Drank Tea at Abby's—Uncle Thurston & myself took a Walk to Commode Hopkins's. Spent ye major Part of ye Evening & Sup't at Abby's afterwards repair'd to Cousin Sweeting's & Lodged.

Wednesday ye 29th. Breakfasted at Abby's—A. M. Employed in Estate Matters—Din'd at Nichs. Brown's P. M. Uncle Thurston set out for home—Put one of my Trunks on board Lyndsey bound to New York—Sup't at Danls.—Lodged at Capt. Sweeting's—

Thursday ye 30th. Breakfasted at Danls.—At 7 o'clock AM. I Left Providence with purpose of Returning to Philada.—Danl. so kind as to take me in Chaise in Order to carry me to New London by Land—Robt. set out with us for Dr. Babcocks. We all din'd at Little Rest at One Potter's Tavern—Far'd but poorly—No Oats or Hay for our horses—Roads for some part of ye Way Past Description Bad—At Sunset Danl. & myself got to Charlestown & put up at Mr. Champlin's a very good Inn—Bobby left us expecting to Reach ye Doctor's which was but 9 Miles Farther. Charlest'n. is 44 From Providence. Very much Fatigued tho' ye Expectation of once more Seeing my Dear Family raised in my Breast pleasing Sensations. May ye great Jehovah take Special Care of all my dear Brothers

& Sisters whom I am obliged to Leave—to leave as I never left before Fatherless and Motherless.

Friday ye 31st. Arose at Day Light—Left Mr. Champ-lin's at Sun Rising—Call'd on ye Road to see Mr. Ramsen and Desire Bliven—at 8 o'clock reach'd Dr. Babcocks where we took Breakfast & were very agreeably entertain'd, the Dr.'s is about 16 Miles from New London as bad Roads as can be any how got over with a Carriage. After Breakfast Bobby set out to accompany us. Could hardly get along, we were a long Time reaching a Small Distance, At $\frac{3}{4}$ past One we got to Mr. Belton's Tavern in Groton & Din'd. Mr. Belton not at home but She was exceedingly glad to See us owing to ye Intimacy wch had for such a Length of Time subsisted between her Son Josey & myself, She would'nt take anything of either of us for our Dinners & very kindly solicited us to call at their Home at any Time & make entirely Free. Between 4 & 5 PM we got to Groton Ferry where ye Horses & Chair were left & we cross'd over to New London. Dan'l., Rob't & myself walk'd over ye Town a little & at about 6 o'clk we took an Affectionate leave of Each Other as they purposed going back a Few Miles on their Way to Westerly. Soon after this met with Messrs. Binney & Drown who had taken Passage on board a small sloop Capt. Rice bound to New York—I had but just Time to get my Trunk on board, which being done we came to sail with ye Wind at S W right ahead—We beat about 5 Miles & came to Anchor, Messrs. Binney, Drown & myself went on shore & procur'd good Supper & Lodging at One Mr. Durfee's a public House, who keeps the Rope Ferry—By the Time I got to this Place I was almost ready to give over, owing to the Fatigue of the Day.

Saturday June ye 1st. This Morning Felt considerably better—the Wind still a Head & vastly fresh which render'd it Improvident to come to sail—Breakfasted, Din'd & spent ye whole Day at Mr. Durfee's—The Family being exceedingly kind & my Fellow Passengers so very friendly it render'd the Moments less tedious than they would have

otherwise been. In ye Evening the Wind rather Increas'd so that we all Retir'd to Rest in Expectation of a good Night's sleep which we enjoyed. To put my Trust in God at whose Command the Winds & Seas are is my earnest Prayer—Capt. Almy of Rhode Island having in ye Forenoon crossed ye Ferry & bound to Newp't. I set down & wrote a Letter to my very affectionate Uncle Thurston.

Sunday June ye 2d. A. M. the Wind continued aHead—Received an Invitation to preach—accepted—Between 1 & 2 ye People assembled. In Time of Sermon the Wind became fair—As soon as Sermon was over and we had settled with our Landlord Mr. Durfee we repair'd to sloop as fast as possible and came to sail at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 P. M. A most excellent Time! Tide with us till 12 o'clock—we pass'd thro' ye Water Rapidly! The Passengers very agreeable Company Indeed—particularly my 2 Friends before mentioned and One Mr. Pool of New London. We seem'd to be knit together in Friendship's Bond—Between 9 & 10 I threw myself on a Blanket having a pair of Saddle Bags for a Pillow & thus pass'd the Night, Sometimes asleep, sometimes dosing but the major part thereof awake.

Monday June ye 3d. This Morning at Day Light we were within 30 Miles of N York—had a terrible Time through Hell Gate—arrived at York about 10 o'clock AM. Call'd upon Mr. Gano & left a Number of Letters which he undertook to deliver & forward. Took passage in ye Amboy Stage for Philada. at One o'clock, having eat neither Breakfast nor Dinner. Those on board not so agreeable as I could wish—Some of ye Company vastly prophane, what Evidences may One Learn from Travelling of the total Depravity of human Nature. Felt much overcome for want of proper Sleep & Refreshment. Arriv'd at South Amboy between 5 & 6 P. M. Met Mr. Wm. Goddard of Baltimore with whom I had considerable Chat. In the Evening partook of a good Supper & soon after went to Bed having for my Bed Fellow Mr. Leffingwell of Norwich in Connecticut. Slept comfortably.

Tuesday June ye 4th. Arose extreme early and took my Seat in ye Bordertown Stage Wagon—wch was well fill'd. Rode 14 Miles & Breakfasted at Williamson's Tavern — much reviv'd at the Prospect of so soon meeting my Dear Family—may we meet in health. Got to Bordertown at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2. Din'd at Mr. Hogland's. At 6 PM took my Departure in Bordertown Boat For Philada. Very little or no Wind. Sail'd 'till Tide came against us which was 12 o'clock at Night & Anchor'd 12 or 13 Miles from the City. As I had now no Expectation of Reaching home 'till Morning, went down into the Hole & turned in upon a Bag of Flax—making a Pillow of One of my Arms. Tho my Birth was very hard yet over Fatigue caused sleep instantly to come upon me. my Situation was not by any means pleasing but Resignation is my Duty.

Wednesday June 5th. Arose at 5 o'clock. A little Refresh'd by Sleep. Came to sail with hardly any Wind, went down with the Tide. At 8 o'clock landed at Vine Street Wharf. Repair'd with hasty steps to my dear Family & found them well with my other Friends—And now may that God who has thus protected me in my Travels, Supported me under one of ye most trying of Dispensations & kept my Wife & Child as it were in the hollow of his hands in my Absence of 7 weeks from them and now return'd me to them in Safety, write Laws of Gratitude upon my heart & never Suffer me to forget his Goodness but ennoble me to live to his Glory all ye Days I have to Continue on Earth & finally receive me & mine to the Realms of Bliss where there Shall be no more parting but every Tear Shall be wip'd away & all shall be Joy divine.

Even so—Lord Jesus

ROGERS

June 5, 1776

Early Ship Protests

(continued from vol. XXXII, page 86)

These ship protests are entered in the second volume of Rhode Island Land Evidences which are in the State Archives.

By this publick Instrument of Protest be it known . . . that on the Eighteenth of Desembr . . . 1702 . . . Before mee Weston Clark Notry . . . in Newport on Rhoad Island . . . & in the presents of the Wittnesses After named Parsonally Appeared Michael Gill²⁹ of the town of boston . . . marr & now master of the Good Briginteen Called the Joana of Boston Doth declare . . . that . . . (he) did . . . demand of & from Isaac Naphthaley³⁰ marcht now Resident in . . . Newport on the day of the Date heare of nine hundred Quentalls of dry fish bought of the Sd Naphthaley by Samll phillips of Boston & Company marchts Owners of the Above Sd Briginteen the which Sd nine hundred Quentll of fish hee posertively Denies nor will hee deliver Any or Any Account of the Owners . . . the Sd Master not knowing what Damage is Done . . . by the withholding . . . the Sd . . . fish doth thare fore According to the Usuall Custom of Marchts & marrrs affaires & the Laws . . . provided Sollomly . . . protest Against the Sd Isaac Naphthaly for . . . Every part of the damage done . . . in not performing ye Agreement as Afore Said . . .

The day And year Above written Michael Gill parsonally Appeared before mee . . . & made Sollom Oath to the truth of what is written . . . in the Afore premised Instrument In testamony where of I have heare unto Sett my hand And Seall
Samll Cranston Govr (II, 177)

²⁹ Gill served as a privateersman in Queen Anne's War, and won fame in his brilliant and successful defense of Bonavista, Newfoundland, in 1704. See "Privateer Ships and Sailors" p. 144.

³⁰ Isaac Naphthaley was a Jew. He was admitted a freeman of New York in 1705. See Pub. Am. Jew. Hist. Soc. 6, 101.

Protest noted Sept. 6, 1705.

. . . Capt Joseph Rosbotham Commander of the Sloop
 Called the phenix & James Whitthead mate . . . & William
 Chub marer Sayled from this harbor of newport in . . .
 Rhoad Island . . . On Augt the 10 day Last past 1705
 bound to the Island of Barbados Did on this forth day of
 September 1705 . . . Appeare before mee . . . did protest
 Against the Sea for all Damages . . . which the Above Sd
 Sloop phenex her passengers & Cargo Shee had at her
 Departure hath sustained in her Above Intended voyage
 By reason that About 12 Aclock on fryday night being the
 17th day of Augt . . . A voyalant Storme Arose the Sd
 Sloop then being . . . neare the Lattitud of 38 & to the
 Eastward of Block Island 50 Leags that Sd Storme voya-
 lantly Continuing till About 12 of the Clock of the 19th
 day of Augt at night & that on the Sd 19th day About
 two A Clock in the After none by a Stroake of the Sea
 the Sd vessell Over sett & filled with water her horses³²
 Awning Cables Round hous & Som part of her Lading
 washed Over bord During the Storme And Henry pike-
 march Robart rose & John Whealler Chirurgin³³ & James
 Blackwell marrr ware all of them Drowned

Joseph Rosbotham
 James Whitthead

the mark of William Chub

Taken upon Oath . . . Before mee

Samll Cranston Govr (II, 325)

³² hawsers

³³ surgeon

New Publications of Rhode Island Interest

The Jones Pond Shell Heap, by John C. Brown, an excavation by the Narragansett Archæological Society of Rhode Island, is an illustrated pamphlet of twenty-six pages.

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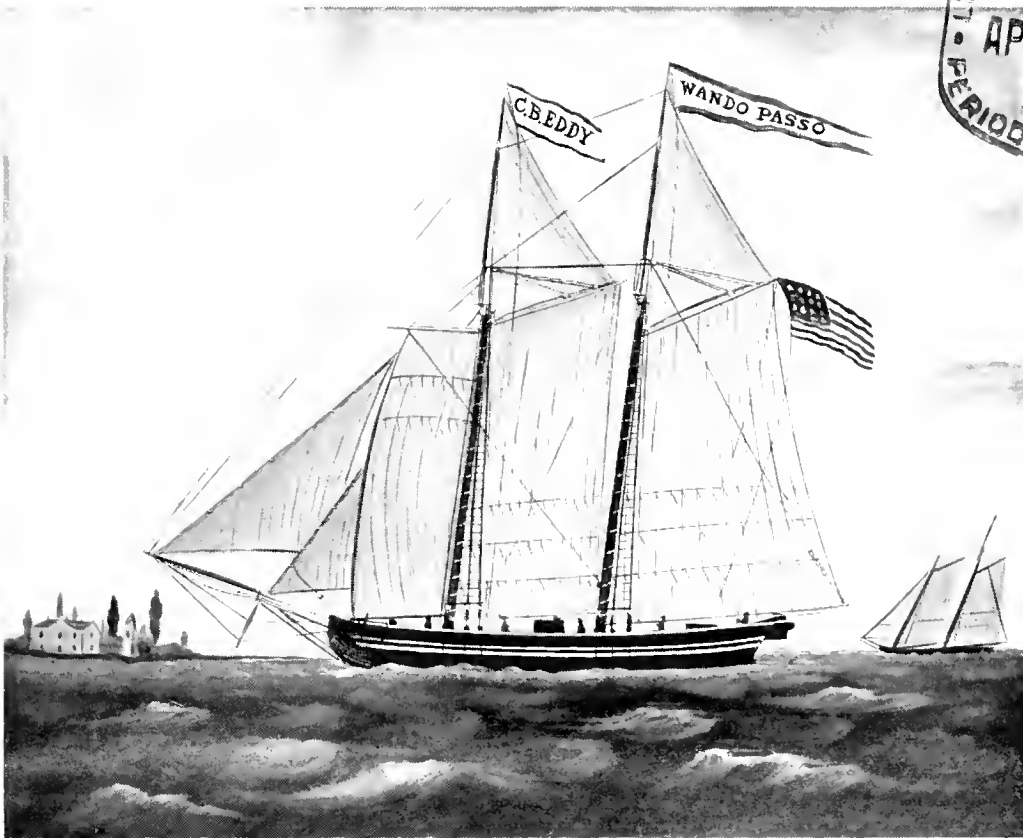
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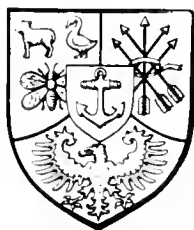
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No. 2

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The Beginnings of the Rhode Island Train Bands

BY ROBERT W. KENNY

One of the most useful institutions brought to America by English colonists in the seventeenth century was the military organization of citizen soldiers known as the train bands out of which developed the American militia. Its primary purpose was the defense of the new colonies from attacks by Indians, although it was sometimes found useful in cases of civil disorder. Before leaving England in 1629 the Massachusetts Bay Colony made very considerable preparations for defense of its territory; in London the Company secured the services of two professional soldiers, Captains Underhill and Patrick, to organize the train bands, bought a considerable amount of large and small ordnance, and, once landed in Boston, promptly set about training "these souldiers of Christ Jesus—to stand it out against all such as should come to rob them of their priviledges." Fortifications were built in Boston Harbor, guns were mounted, and efforts were made to manufacture gun-

powder. By 1636 there were three regiments in training under the command of a Sergeant-Major General, who in turn was closely watched by the General Court.

The situation was very different in Rhode Island. The settlers who came with Roger Williams to Providence, and those who later established themselves on the Island were not members of a well planned colonial enterprise, but rather refugees, for political or religious reasons, from the neighboring colonies. Many of them, at variance with accepted Puritan doctrine, would not have agreed with Captain Edward Johnson of Woburn who, in his *Wonder Working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England* urged "that with all diligence you encourage every Soldier-Spirit among you." This attitude, which was generally accepted in the Bay Colony, often resulted, as in the Pequot war, in carrying the fight to the Indians, and was not conducive to the understanding, if not friendship, towards the natives which was so encouraged in Rhode Island. The Puritan leaders in the Bay Colony envisaged a strong state in the wilderness; as rapidly as possible new towns were established by the General Court, the ultimate source of power, and train bands to protect these establishments from Indians reprisals were speedily organized. In Rhode Island the scheme of government was almost the reverse. The towns created the General Assembly, but reserved to themselves far more power than did the towns in Massachusetts Bay or Plymouth colonies. One of these powers locally retained was control over the train bands, and the history of these organizations is very closely connected in the seventeenth century with the history of the towns. Efforts were made at various times to achieve an effective central organization, but ultimate control reverted to the towns.

It is necessary at this time to explain the exact status of the train bands. Primarily they were for defense in time of local attack. Normal "watch and ward" was in the jurisdiction of the town constable "who is to see that the

peace be kept;" he, or certain citizens deputed by him, set the watches and gave the alarm in case of disorder. In times of actual or impending emergency the captain of the train band took command of his company and disposed it as he thought fit. Only if a town were directly attacked did the band fight as a unit. Expeditions beyond the town limits were recruited from volunteers. In the First Dutch War, for example, the General Assembly on May 18, 1653, called for twenty volunteers to aid in checking the Dutch attack upon English settlements on Long Island. Portsmouth and Newport felt a vital interest in this and seem to have provided all the men, as well as "two great guns and what murtherers [small naval cannon] are with us." Providence and Warwick took no part in the war at all. During King Philip's War there were an unascertained number of unauthorized volunteers from Rhode Island, but no train band as a unit took part in the fighting. The train bands then provided more or less efficient bodies for local defense and served as training centers from which, in time of emergency, certain citizens were drawn for service outside of the towns.

The records indicate that Portsmouth was the first community to take active measures to defend itself. On the 13th day of the 3rd month (May 13, 1638) at a "General Meeting upon publicke notice" it was "ordered that every Inhabitant of this island shall be always provided of one muskett, one pound of powder, twenty bulletts and two fademe of match, with Sword and rest and Bandeliers, all completely furnished." At a similar meeting held on June 27 William Balston and Edward Hutchinson were chosen Sergeants, Randall Houlden and Henry Bull corporals, and Samuel Wilbore clerk of the train Band, the first military officers to be chosen in what was to be the colony of Rhode Island. At a General Meeting on the 5th of the 9th month it was "ordered that there shall be a generall day of Trayning for the Exercise of those who are able to beare armes in the arte of military

discipline, and all that are of sixteen yeares of age, and upwards to fifty, shall be warned thereunto." One week later there appears to have been held the first muster in Rhode Island. In January, 1639, three Elders were elected to assist the Judge and the Clerk in the management of the town's affairs which included "Invasions forreine and domestick, as also the determination of Military discipline." This group anticipated invasion sufficiently to order that when the alarm of three shots was fired all were to repair to the house of the Judge, and a herald was to go speedily through the town crying, "Alarm, Alarm."

On April 28, 1639, nine men from Portsmouth, among whom were William Coddington, Judge, and the three Elders, Nicholas Easton, John Coggeshall and William Brenton, decided to establish a community at the southern end of the Island-Newport. Seven months later at a General Meeting in that town they organized their train band, choosing William Foster as Clerk and ordering him to survey the arms in the hands of the settlers and report all defects at the next court but one. It was also decided that "the Body of the people, viz: the Traine Band shall have free libertie to chuse and select such persons, one or more from among themselves, as they would have to be officers among them." Mr. Robert Jeffries was placed in temporary command to drill the train band for the "approbation of the Magistrates." All men were forbidden to go outside of the town without either a gun or sword under penalty of a five shilling fine for each offense. The balance of the military legislation of Newport as an independent community deals with the efforts, generally unsuccessful, to provide every train band member with adequate equipment.

Portsmouth and Newport were united as the colony on the Island of Aquidneck on March 12, 1640; in May the General Court merely reenacted the Portsmouth directions about alarms, but the August meeting produced the first comprehensive military legislation in the colony. Eight training days were ordered to be held each year in both

Portsmouth and Newport, the days being set by the Captain of the band. In addition there were to be two general musters, one in each town. At these formations all men were to be in line completely equipped at the second beat of the drum at eight o'clock in the morning. Absence was punished by a fine of five shillings. Exemptions were made for herdsmen and lightermen whose occupations might prevent their appearance. Farmers in outlying farms could leave one man at home if two shillings and sixpence were paid to the Clerk of the band. Any who appeared defective "in his armes or furniture equivalent" were fined twelve pence by the Clerk who reported the delinquents to the Judge and Captain of the company who would determine the validity of the excuses offered. The money so collected was used to purchase drums, colors and halberds for the band. The question of equipping these citizen soldiers was a vexatious one; many of the men had no money to purchase guns, and, when the money was at hand, it was not always possible to obtain the desired material. This seems the purport of the statement that "the Clarke of each Band shall receive the monies of any Man to provide and make supply of such things as he shall stand in need of; during which time, after the delivery of such said money, he shall be excused for his defects in such Armes; but if the money be not delivered, then to be liable to the injunctions herein contained."

The law having been accepted, the General Court gave over part of the next few sessions to tinkering with it. On September 6, 1641, the fine of two shillings six pence levied against those absent from training was abolished, and so also were the two general musters ordered to be held annually in Portsmouth and Newport. Regular training days were set for the first Monday of each month, except in the months of May, August, January and February. Three sessions in 1641-42 were necessary before a satisfactory law for the election of train band officers was agreed upon. The law as finally written ordered that the personnel

of the train bands could elect freemen from among their number for officers, this election subject to the ratification of all the freemen of the town at the Annual Court of Elections; officers must be elected out of their own bands; they could not be residents of other towns. Further it was declared "that the Townes shall order the power of the Officers of their several Bands from time to time," an unmistakable indication of the town's supremacy in military affairs. The officers to be chosen by election were: captain, lieutenant, ensign, and junior and senior sergeants. The commanding officer could appoint only corporals and drummers. There was slight danger of building up any military hierarchy under this perhaps too democratic system.

In July 1644 Portsmouth had tried to obtain powder and shot from the Bay Colony and had been refused. John Winthrop explained that the Court was adjourned when the request was made and that the deputies were in no mood to aid those who had so recently left the colony.

Certainly it was an error [he wrote] in state of policy at least not to support them, for though they were desperately erroneous and in such distraction among themselves as portended their ruin, yet if the Indians should prevail against them, it would be a great advantage to the Indians, and danger to the whole country by the arms, etc., that would there be had, and by the loss of so many persons and so much cattle and other substance belonging to above 120 families. Or, if they should be forced to seek protection from the Dutch, who would be ready to accept them, it would be a great inconvenience to all the English to have so considerable a place in the power of strangers so potent as they are.

Mistake or not, the shortage of ammunition was a critical one and apparently was responsible for the passage of the following statute in May 1647.

Forasmuch as we are cast among the Archers, and know not how soon we may be deprived of Powder and Shott, without which our guns will advantage us nothing; to the end also that we may come to outshoot these natives in their owne bow; Be it enacted that that Statute touching Archerie, shall be revived and propagated throwout the whole Colonie; and that every person from the age of seventeen yeares, to the age of seventy, that is not lame, debilitated in his body, or otherwise exempted by the Colonie, shall have a Bow and four arrowes and shall use and exercise shooting.

Failure to comply with order by the end of June 1647 would entail a fine of three shillings and four pence. Each town was to erect an archery butt by the same date under a ten shilling penalty. No record of town archery butts exists; doubtless the idea never got beyond the stage of legislation.

The military legislation of the next decade indicates the dilemma of the colonists. On the one hand successful husbandry demanded all of a man's time and energy; on the other the fear of Indian attacks indicated that the train bands be maintained in a reasonable degree of efficiency. There were alternate waves of concern and indifference. The concern was displayed by the General Court, later the General Assembly; the indifference by the individual towns through neglect of their train bands. The General Court which in May 1647 organized the colony under the patent brought from England by Roger Williams restated with some additions the militia law of 1642. The towns were ordered to hold elections for train band officers on the first Tuesday after each 12th of March, and a fine of five pounds was levied against any person selling or giving powder, shot, lead, gun, pistol or sword, dagger, halberd or pike to an Indian or repairing such weapons already in the hands of Indians. If legislation could insure a decently trained citizen soldiery the colony should have been ade-

quately defended, but there seems to have been a woeful lack of martial spirit in the towns.

The details are not known, but the action of the General Court in May 1649 indicates clearly that many colonists had refused to train with the bands, that the fines of the absentees had not been collected, and that officers chosen to command the bands had refused to serve. To quicken military affairs civil authorities in the towns were ordered to assist in collecting fines, and captains and lieutenants were penalized five pounds and fifty shillings respectively for refusing to perform their duties on training days. This burst of military zeal was of short duration, for the following year the Court ordered "that each town shall order its own militia, any clauses or laws formerly made notwithstanding." Once again the train bands were removed from beneficial central control and we must trace their history for the next few years in the records of the individual towns.

Without rehearsing all the tedious details it is sufficient to note that the tendency of the towns was to decrease the military burden as much as possible. Warwick seems to have had a train band election as early as June 1649, but apparently it was necessary to start afresh in 1653 when it was ordered that "all that can beare armes [will] meet on the Comon over against Thomas Staffordes to chuse military officers, and any man thats absent may send in his voate, and the time to be about eight a clocke in the morning." Too few reported to warrant an election, and in August of the same year it was ordered "that because the Towne are but few in number that they choose for military officers only a lieutenant and a drummer, and these to be chosen the first Second day in the next month September." Other notations, chiefly of military elections, occur at about three year intervals. One notice of a training day concludes "if the season hinder not." With such a flexible option it seems unlikely that many fell in line at the second beat of the drum. Providence, like Warwick, used the town's authority over

the train bands to lighten its military burden; in November 1654 the fine for absence from drill was reduced from five shillings to two and six pence, and on the following June it was further cut to a flat two shillings and the annual drills fixed at four instead of the eight ordered by the General Court in May of 1647. There was still some fear of Indian attack and on January 1655/56, after some debate about erecting a fort "against the Barbarians," the town meeting, far from ordering such a fort, merely ordered "that libertie is given to so many as please to erect a fortification upon Stompers Hill or about their owne houses." The Portsmouth record is equally scanty; the notice of a train band election in 1650 and a notice in 1655 that those in office would continue to exercise command "till nue were chosen."

The casual quality of the training seems to have caused great concern to the General Court, which on March 10, 1657/58 complained of the neglect of the militia law by the various towns, and ordered that the act of 1647 which it described as "very full and to good purpose for the keeping on foot the said military exercise . . . continue in full force throughout the whole colony, any other laws or repeals to the contrary notwithstanding." Making a virtue of necessity the Court in the following November ordered that a fine of two shillings instead of five shillings or two and six pence be levied for absence from training, thus making legal a practice of the towns of some years.

The Royal Charter of November 1663 which authorized the Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistants and Assembly "to assemble, exercise in arms, martiall array, and putt in war-lyke posture, the inhabitants of the said collonie, for their special defence and safety" does not seem to have effectively quickened the martial spirit of the colony, for the General Assembly on May 4, 1664, noted with regret the "great neglect and deficiency in the use of the military exercise in most towns of this Colony." The Assembly then ordered that train band elections be held

annually in all towns on the last Monday in May, that the elected officers give sufficient notice of drill, and that the fines for neglect be collected. This legislation appears to have been ineffective, and on May 13, 1665, the Assembly passed still another training law. Drills were reduced from eight to six a year; captains were fined ten pounds for not calling an election of train band officers each year. Officers not ordering drills were fined forty shillings, or being elected and refusing to serve were fined forty shillings.

“For the incorradgement of the meaner sort” nine shillings yearly was to be allowed as pay, this to be paid by the Clerk or treasurer to the parent or master of such as provided their sons or servants with arms and ammunition. The towns were to raise the money necessary for soldiers’ pay by a local rate. For the most part the act is a more careful restating of the law of the previous year. In effect the nine shillings was a subsidy, and Rhode Island was the first colony to adopt this sensible solution for the supply of military equipment. Lack of equipment being no longer an adequate excuse for absence from training, the fine was raised to three shillings, the proceeds therefrom to provide drums, colors and halberds for the local companies. The Assembly in the following year, noting the inability or refusal of train band officers to collect fines, empowered two local magistrates to assist in the affair.

The second Dutch War (1665-1667) served to awaken the colony to its vulnerability by sea and land. Newport, being particularly open to attack by water, was ordered by the Governor and Council meeting on the 28th of May to take a precise inventory of all arms, equipment and powder, to repair defective guns, and to mount their great guns so that they could be moved from place to place for the island’s defense. The General Assembly in July 2, 1667, constituted the Captain and Lieutenant of each train band to act with the town council in each community as a council of defense, a troop of horse was authorized and the Governor and Council were empowered to seize horses and

ships of all sorts necessary for defense, to erect fortifications, and dispose all troops and great artillery as they thought best. This emergency power was to continue until the sitting of the General Assembly in October and "noe longer," but at this session it was extended to the following meeting. With what seems extraordinary celerity the troop of horse, an organization of gentlemen volunteers, was raised, with Mr. Peleg Sanford as Captain and Mr. John Almy as Lieutenant. This organization was to drill six times a year, and at all times to be under the orders of the Governor and the Council.

The records for the next few years are very meagre; the colony undoubtedly did not take its military duties very seriously until in August of 1671 there were rumors of an Indian uprising, when "there being a great necessity to put the Colony in a posture of defence att this time" the town Councils and Councils of War were ordered to meet in Portsmouth at Mr. George Lawton's dwelling house to consider some wayes and means for secureing the inhabitants and their estates in these times of imminent danger." It was also ordered that twenty horsemen, ten each from Newport and Portsmouth, were to attend fully armed as a protection for the council. This was probably the first real duty of the newly organized cavalry and seems to have about it a bit of "swank." The usual orders about watches, ammunition, and surveillance of Indians were restated and the Council of War disbanded.

The outbreak of the Third Dutch War, signalized in America by the English loss of New York on July 30, 1672, caused more serious preparations throughout the colony. A pension plan, designed "to take off some carefull, fearefull and distractinge thoughts" of the colony's soldiers, was enacted providing for care of the injured and in case of the soldier's death, his dependents; it further allowed the veteran or his family to sue the colony if the pension were not forthcoming, a contingency which was anticipated, "forasmuch as too often faithful service is forgott

and the slain being burried goe to the land of forgitfullness." It was at this meeting of the General Assembly on August 13, 1673, that the exemption from military service for conscience sake was allowed.

The Rhode Island train bands were in a curious position in the war against King Philip. Up to this time control of the local companies had shuttled back and forth between the General Assembly and the towns, with the towns in control a larger part of the time. As late as October 27, 1675, the Assembly referred Captain John Cranston's plan for a defense against "the dangerous hurries with the Indians" to the Councils of War of the separate towns for settlement, thus in effect rejecting unified action, although on April 11, 1676, the Assembly reversed itself and selected Cranston as commander-in-chief of the militia with the rank of Major. The Assembly on March 13, 1675/76 wrote to Providence and Warwick, admitting that the colony's military establishment was unable to maintain garrisons to defend "our out Plantations" and urging them to abandon their homes and take refuge on the island. For the most part this advice was taken; some remained, among them Roger Williams, who although seventy-seven years old was commissioned a captain in command of the thirty men "that stayed and went not away." Providence was burned by the Indians on March 29 or 30, 1675/76, but the few remaining inhabitants applied for a garrison and the Assembly, after sending the usual committee of investigation on June 30, 1676, appointed a king's garrison of ten men, eight to be paid by the colony and two by the man in whose house the men were billeted. Arthur Fenner was put in command of this unit and commissioned a Captain. Fenner's commission is an interesting example of the duality of the military system; it authorized him to command the king's garrison and all other private garrisons but "not eclipsinge Capt'n Williams power in the exercise of the Traine Band there etc." The exemption from military service for conscience sake was also repealed

at this session, but after the death of Philip in August, 1676, the Assembly meeting in Newport on October 27 again allowed this exemption. With the Indian menace removed the Assembly reduced the training days to two a year, the second Monday in March and the second Monday in September. With this reduction went all semblance of an efficient military establishment.

If training days did not provide the colony with a first class fighting force, they offered an excellent opportunity for settling much civil and social business.

On March 11, 1659, the General Council of the Colony ordered that the proclamation concerning "His Highness, Richard, Lord Protector, be published in the several towns on the Tuesday following, at the head of each trainband and in the presence of all well-affected people." Upon the receipt of the Royal Charter in 1663 Benedict Arnold, the President of the Colony, sent warrants to the captains of all the train bands to attend with all the freemen "in their arms" the solemnizing of the receipt of the charter. Providence, for one, did not obey this order, for a minute in the town meeting of November 18, 1663, orders "that concerning the warrant which came from the president to send soldiers to solemnize the receipt of the charter that a letter be drawne up and sent to the Court of Commissioners to Excuse the not going." The towns were very slow about collecting their shares towards the expenses of the colony's agents in England and in an effort to speed up the collection Roger Williams wrote a letter to each town. In Warwick his "permissious" letter was read before the military company at the general training on March 26, 1666. Marriage banns were commonly read at such times. Fines were collected and arms and equipment were examined and deficiencies penalized.

Training days were in a sense fete days. The Rhode Island records are less full of training day incidents than those of the Bay Colony but conditions could not have been much different. In addition to the train bands, the

towns were full of women and children; trade was brisk; Indians came in to see the show and from the first beat of the drum until the last delinquent had been fined there was always something doing. That there was occasional disorder is shown by the curious and not too clear case noted in the town records of Providence of June 4, 1655, "wheas there hath Bin greate debate this day about Tho:Olnie Rob:Williams Jon ffield Will Harris & others concerning ye matter of a tumult and disturbance in ye winter under a pretence of woluntarie training it was at last concluded By wote that for ye Colonies sake who hat chosen Tho:Olnie an assistant & for ye public union & peace sake it should be past By & no more mentioned." This may very well have been a case of what Burns called "social noise." These are the usual concomitants of citizen soldiers who regard military training as a burden which is to be eased by whatever distractions are at hand. Training of this type did not, of course, turn out finished soldiers, but it did provide the Colony with a semi-trained reserve which could be drawn upon in cases of emergency.

Notes

The following persons have been elected to membership in the Society:

MRS. FRANCIS P. KENT

MRS. CHARLES F. STEARNS

Journal of My Visit to the Eastward Commencing in August, 1781

BY W. ROGERS ¹

Thursday August 9. Took leave of my dear Family at 8 o'clock in the Morning. The good Lord preserve them in my Absence! Dined at Mr. Vanhorn's Southampton who towards Evening was so obliging as to accompany me to Newtown where we tarried the Night at Mr. John Hart's.

Friday Augt. 10. After Breakfast parted with Mr. Vanhorn & Crossed the Delaware at Jones's. Rode Down to Trenton on Business. Dined with Mr. Abraham Hunt Mercht. & in the Afternoon proceeded to Hopewell. Mr. Blackwell's where I spent the Evening & Lodged.

Saturday Augt. 11. Breakfasted at Mr. S. Stout's—At Rocky Hill met with Capt. Vananglen & Mr. Graham (Two of my old Acquaintances) The latter designing for Midd^lebrooke (14 Miles on my Way) had the Pleasure of his Company for that Distance where—on our Arrival—we Dined—After Dinner passed thro' Bound Brook & Quibble Town & just at Dusk got to the Scot's Plains & put up at Mr. Miller's. A pleasant Day this for Travellers!

Sunday Augt. 12. Wet Day. Preached A.M. Rev. Mr. Miller P.M. Service being over refresh'd myself & went to Mr. Stiles's Connecticut Farms.

Monday Augt. 13. It being a stormy Morning continued at Mr. Stiles's—P.M. Rode with Mr. Hampton to Elizabeth Town & Returned at Dusk.

Tuesday Augt. 14. Breakfasted at Mr. Gursnman's

1. The original diary is in the possession of Senator Theodore Francis Green. An earlier diary of W. Rogers was printed in the October 1939 issue of the R. I. H. S. *Collections*, p. 117, with a note in regard to W. Rogers, written by Senator Green.

Lyons Farms—spent some Time at Mr. M. Ogden's Newark: Crossed the Ferry at Second River. Passed thro' Hackinsack, Swedenburg & Clarker to Dobb's Ferry North River. Refreshed myself at Col: Dayton's Quarters and then Crossed—Saw Col: Olney & Invited to tarry with him, spent the Evening with Col: L. Butler who with Col: Olney were extremely obliging.

Wednesday Augt. 15. Breakfasted with Col: Olney—Visited Headquarters. Dined at the Adjutant General's. Forwarded pr. Express a Letter to Mrs. Rogers Inclosed in One to Col: Miles. Spent the Evening at Genl. Parson's in Company with Messrs. Hitchcock Baldwin & Barlow 3 Chaplains.

Thursday Augt. 16. Breakfasted with Col: Olney & Introduc'd to the Acquaintance of Major Lyman A. D. Camp to Gen'l. Heath who Invited me on my Return to Tarry at his Quarters. After Breakfast got ready to Renew my Journey & Made a Halt at the French Encampment to see the Manuvers of the Barbonnois Reg't. which afforded the highest satisfaction. Dined at Kingstreet and obliged on Acct. of a Banditti who Infest the Sound Road between Kingstreet & Stamford by the Names of Cowboys & Skinners to alter my Intended Rout & strike up the Country to Bedford from thence proceeded thro' a Part of Lower Salem and having fallen into Company with a Mr. Keeler of Ridgefield Parish Invited to put up at his House, did so & was kindly Entertain'd.

Friday Augt. 17. Breakfasted at Mr. Keeler's & then took my Departure. Rode thro' Wilton where missing my way owing to the blind Directions of the Inhabitants got into the N. East Part of Norwalk old Town & Immediately fell into the main Post Road. Dined at Fairfield which with Norwalk were burnt by the Enemy in 1779. P.M. Moved slowly on through Stratfield or Poquonot, Stratford and Milford. Between Stratford & Milford crossed a Ferry. At 9 o'clock in ye Even. arrived at New Haven Exceedingly fatigued & Lodged at Mr. Helme's

who with his Lady had just returned from a visit to Providence etc.

Saturday Augt. 18. Tarryed at New Haven. Dined at my Lodgings. Drank Tea at Dr. Stile's where I commenc'd an Acquaintance with Mr. Fitch a Tutor in College.

Sunday Augt. 19. Preached A.M. in College Hall for Presidt. Miles. Dined at Rev: Mr. Edward's (son of the famous Presidt. Edwards of New Jersey College) for whom I officiated in the After part of the Day to a very attentive Audience. Felt much Freedom in speaking at Each Place. May God bless his Word! Evening very Rainy.

Monday Augt. 20. About 9oc'k. left New Haven & Crossed the Ferry contiguous to the Town—Dined at East Guildford—Just before Sunsett Crossed Saybrook Ferry and purposed reaching Mr. Durfee's at Rope Ferry but the Badness of the Roads added to the Darkness of the Evening obliged me to put up at a House kept by one Capt. Lee in the Parish of Lyme 3 1/2 Miles Short of my Intended Stage.

Tuesday Augt. 21. Crossed Rope Ferry & Breakfasted at Mr. Durfee's after which proceeded on to N. London where making no Tarry I crossed over to Groton & Stop'd at Capt. Belton's, Rested Till after Dinner being considerably unwell with a Bad Cold. Entertained very Kindly! P.M. Jogged slowly on & falling accidentally at Stonington in Company with Mrs. Tanner & Mrs. Bennett we alighted at Mr. I. Rhodes's and Took Tea! Early in the Evening Reached Bro'r. Daniel's where besides his own Family I had also the Pleasure of meeting with Sisters Lydia and Sally—All in comfortable Health!

Wednesday Augt. 22. Spent the Afternoon at Doctr. Babcock's.

Friday, Augt. 24. Dined & spent the Day at Dr. Babcock's.

Saturday Augt. 25. Went to Seventh Day Meeting & Invited to preach, Declined. Heard Revd. Mr. Burdick—P.M. A Preacher by ye Name of Saunders called to see me to Converse upon some Religious Points—Poor Man!

O Lord, when shall thy People be Deliver'd from such Ignorant Teachers?

Sunday Augt. 26. At 3 o'clock in the Afternoon preached at Hopkinton.

Monday Augt. 27. Breakfasted Early & then in Company with Dan'l & Capt. Dorrance sat out for Bro'r. Robert's in Coventry. Went via Volentown & Tarryed Dinner at Capt. Dorrance's. Just at Dusk got to Robert's having Rode about 39 miles, found him & Family with sister Barker well.

Tuesday Augt. 28. After Breakfast Dan'l. & Myself proceeded on to Providence, arrived about 11 o'clock. Dined at our Brother Johnny's. Spent the Evening & Lodged at B'r. Josey's. The Families of Each are very prettily settled! Presidt. Manning with us in the bigger Part of the Afternoon. Deliver'd him the Letter from our Church and urg'd his Compliance.

Wednesday Augt. 29. Breakfasted at Mr. Jos: Brown's. Visited Dr. Eyres & Mr. Hoell in North Provid'e. Dined with Mr. Manning & Dan'l. at Mr. Nich's. Brown's where Towards Even'g. I Enjoyed considerable Chat with a Mr. Flint.

Thursday. Augt. 30. Dined at Mr. Carter's. Forwarded Letters via Camp to Mrs. Rogers — Mr. Kelly & Col: Miles. Met at Josey's in the Evening to look over old Accounts relative to ye Estate.

Friday Augt. 31. About 1/2 past 8 o'clock left Providence, having Daniel's Horse he consenting to go Down by Water, Crossed Lower Ferry & Rode Via Miles's Bridge, Stopped at Mr. Thompson's who being out I did not see. Dined at Mr. John Childs's in Warren. After Dinner went to Capt. Comer's & called with him upon Mr. & Mrs. Troop whose Daughter Mrs. Sarah Coggeshall lays in an awfull despairing Condition—talked and prayed with her—All seemingly to no Effect! Heavy showers successively coming on detain'd me at Capt. Comer's Till after Tea. Arrived at Bristol Ferry before sunsett but did not get over 'till after Dark, however as

the Moon began to give Light I proceeded forward on the West Road & Lodged at Cousin Rogers's in Middletown—who with my other Relations were very glad to see me.

Saturday Sept. 1. Breakfasted & then went to Dear Newport, put up at my worthy Uncle's, his Family excepting himself in usual health. P.M. Preached for Mr. Bliss. Drank Tea with Uncle Aunt Mrs. Manning etc. at Mr. Willson's whose son Rob't has lately Dyed in the West Indies.

Sunday Sept. 2. Preached both Parts of the Day in Trinity Church for Uncle Thurston to attentive Auditories, Felt thro' Mercy great Composure & much Freedom! — This being Communion Day partook with my Brethren, it was a Comfortable Season Indeed! Drank Tea at Mrs. Anthony's with Mrs. Manning, Spent the Evening at Home somewhat fatigued.

Monday Sept. 3. Dined at Mr. Hazard's. P.M. Rode with Mrs. Manning to Elder Bliss's where with Uncle & Aunt Thurston we tarried t'ill near Dusk. This Part of the Island known by the Name of Green End exceedingly alter'd.

Tuesday Sept. 4. Mr. S. Anthony was so obliging as to take me out in a Chair with him. Enjoyed an agreeable Forenoon in Viewing the Beaches, Works &c. Dined at Uncle's. Drank Tea with Mrs. S. Gardner. At Candle Light a Number of Blacks met at Uncle's, he gave them a Word of Exhortation and I concluded with Prayer.

Wednesday Sept. 5. Wrote to Mrs. Rogers by a Mr. Livingston, an unexpected Opportunity. Intended this Day for Providence but prevented by a Head Wind. Spent ye Afternoon at Mrs. Fowler's—Met with Dr. Kendall of Phila.

Thursday Sept. 6. At 9 o'clock A.M. took Passage on Board Capt. Tillinghast for Providence, Mrs. Manning & other Ladies in Company. Head Wind till One o'clock when a Breeze came up in our Favor. Arrived before Tea Time. Lodged at Brother Josey's.

Friday Sept. 7 A.M. Recd. a Letter from Mr. Stillman

pressing me to visit Boston. Dined at Presidt. Manning's. P.M. Recd. a Letter pr. Post from my good Friend Mr. Kelly dated 19th Aug't. Informing me of the Situation &c. of my Family. Disagreeable Tidings this Day in Town respecting New London. Took Tea with Dr. Richmond & Lodged at Johnny's.

Saturday Sept. 8. Further Accounts arrived respecting New London & Groton. Dined at Josey's.

Sunday Sept. 9. Had the Pleasure of hearing Mr. Manning preach A.M. Officiated for him P.M. to a Crowded Auditory. Put a Letter in ye Post office for Mr. Kelly in Answer to his to me.

Monday Sep: 10. In Company with Presidt. Manning & Bror. Josey set out after Breakfast for South Brimfield. Passed thro' Johnson & Gloucester Rh: Island State. Dined at Mr. John Jones's at Killingley Connecticut. P. M. Rode thro' a Part of Pomfret on to Woodstock & put up for the Night at one Mr. Coles whose Wife is a Member of Providence Church. Journey to Day 38 Miles.

Tuesday Sep: 11. Breakfasted Early & Rode on to Sturbridge old Town Mass. to State where we parted with Josey. Overtook Several Brethren going to the Association—Got to S. Brimfield abt. 12 o'clock, distant from Woodstock 22 Miles. Course from Providence N.W. Rainy Afternoon. Association open'd at 2 o'clock, Ser'm'n. by Mr. Hunt of Middleburg from 2. Cor: 10.4. Afterwards Letters from the Respective Churches & other Associations as usual were Read. Sermon. at Candle Light by myself. Put up with Messrs. Manning, Backus, Parker, Gier &c. at Mr. Coddington's, the Minister of South Brimfield Church.

Wednesday Sep: 12. The whole Day exclusive of a Short Interruption taken up in Business—Matters of great Importance were attended to and the highest Unanimity prevail'd—Ser'mn. in the Evening by Mr. Backus from 8th Ch: Dent: 2. Verse.

To be concluded

Rhode Island Historical Society

Treasurer's Report

INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1939

RECEIPTS

Annual Dues	\$1,960.00
Dividends and Interest	3,278.89
Rental of Rooms	105.00
State Appropriation	1,375.00
	<hr/>
	\$6,718.89

EXPENDITURES

Binding	\$ 24.83
Books	138.70
Electric Light and Gas	67.48
Lectures	72.96
Expense	60.24
Grounds and Building	35.50
Newspaper	12.50
Publications	317.34
Salaries	5,635.00
Supplies	83.80
Telephone	57.45
Water	8.00
Surplus Income Account	205.09
	<hr/>
	\$6,718.89

STATEMENT OF CONDITION, DECEMBER 31 1939

ASSETS

Grounds and Building \$ 25,000.00

Investments:

Bonds

\$5,000. Bethlehem Steel Corp. $4\frac{1}{2}$ s, 1960 \$5,225.00
 3,000. Commonwealth Edison Co. $3\frac{1}{2}$ s, 1968 3,274.46
 3,000. Consolidated Gas Co. of N. Y. $3\frac{1}{4}$ s,
 1946 3,131.25
 3,000. Continental Oil Co. of Del. $2\frac{3}{4}$ s, 1948 3,263.21
 4,000. Dominion of Canada, 5s, 1952 4,003.91
 500. New York Central R. R. Co. $3\frac{1}{4}$ s,
 1952 509.39
 3,000. Pacific Gas & Electric Co. $3\frac{3}{4}$ s, 1961 . 3,338.21
 500. Pennsylvania Railroad Co. $3\frac{1}{4}$ s, 1952 500.00
 1,000. Pennsylvania R. R. Co. Deb. $4\frac{1}{2}$ s,
 1970 922.50
 2,000. Phillips Petroleum Co. 3s, 1948 2,200.49
 1,000. Potomac Edison Co. $4\frac{1}{2}$ /61 1,092.82
 2,000. U. S. Steel Corp, $3\frac{1}{4}$ s, 1948 2,115.49

Stocks

10 shs. Allied Chemical & Dye Corp. 1,732.15
 70 shs. American Telephone & Telegraph Co. 6,591.72
 40 shs. Bankers Trust Co. of N. Y. 2,615.00
 45 shs. Blackstone Canal Nat'l Bank & Tr. Co. 1,050.00
 40 shs. Consolidated Edison Co. Preferred 4,172.80
 10 shs. E. I. duPont de Nemours Co. Common 1,489.25
 2 shs. Guaranty Trust Co. of N. Y. 706.00
 20 shs. International Nickel Co. of Can. 1,064.48
 350 shs. Providence Gas Co. 5,755.68
 15 shs. Providence National Bank 1,508.22
 45 shs. Public Service Corp. of N. J. 4,317.63
 20 shs. Standard Oil Co. of N. J. 963.24
 10 shs. Westinghouse Electric & Mfg. Co. 1,137.08
 Savings Account 4,037.58

Cash on hand

66,717.56

2,979.14

\$94,696.70

LIABILITIES

Equipment Fund	\$ 25,000.00
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Permanent Endowment Fund:

Samuel M. Noyes	\$12,000.00
Henry J. Steere	10,000.00
James H. Bugbee	6,000.00
Charles H. Smith	5,000.00
William H. Potter	3,000.00
Charles W. Parsons	4,000.00
Esek A. Jillson	2,000.00
John Wilson Smith	1,000.00
William G. Weld	1,000.00
Charles C. Hoskins	1,000.00
Charles H. Atwood	1,000.00
Edwin P. Anthony	4,000.00
John F. Street	1,000.00
George L. Shepley	5,000.00
Franklin Lyceum Memorial	734.52
Sarah P. Blake	124.00
	<hr/> 56,858.52

Publication Fund:

Robert P. Brown	2,000.00
Ira P. Peck	1,000.00
William Gammell	1,000.00
Albert J. Jones	1,000.00
William Ely	1,000.00
Julia Bullock	500.00
Charles H. Smith	100.00
	<hr/> 6,600.00
Life Membership	5,600.00
Book Fund	3,012.41
Reserve	800.11
Revolving Publication Fund	268.45
Surplus Income Account	713.77
	<hr/> \$98,853.26
Profit and Loss	4,156.56
	<hr/> \$94,696.70

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1939

 RECEIPTS

Continental Can	\$ 832.60
Wisconsin Electric	4,147.20
61 Broadway	1,352.84
Lehigh Valley Coal	14.37
Lehigh Valley Railroad	134.24
Providence Nat'l Corp.	5.40
Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe	1,787.46
New York Central	953.89
Penn. Water & Power	1,034.25
Central Manufacturing District	3,142.47
Texas Power & Light	1,038.00
Minn. Power & Light	4,157.43
Western Massachusetts	3,110.59
Ohio Power	2,040.00
Penn. Railroad	2,766.60
Gulf State Utilities	1,060.00
Bequest of Sarah Blake	124.00
Standard Oil of N. J.	12.81
Reserve Fund	62.79
Revolving Publication Fund	10.50
	<hr/>
	\$27,787.44
Balance January 1, 1939	2,561.28
	<hr/>
	\$30,348.72

TREASURER'S REPORT

PAYMENTS

Commonwealth Edison	\$3,274.46
Pacific Gas	3,338.21
U. S. Steel	2,115.49
Continental Oil	3,263.21
Consolidated Edison	4,172.80
Potomac Edison	1,092.82
Standard Oil of N. J.	976.05
Phillips Petroleum	2,200.49
Allied Chemical & Dye Co.	1,732.15
E'dupont de Nemours Common	1,489.25
International Nickel	1,064.48
Westinghouse Electric	1,137.08
Savings Account	2,037.58
Reserve	189.28
	<hr/>
	\$28,083.35
Balance December 31, 1939	2,265.37
	<hr/>
	\$30,348.72

Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT T. DOWNS,
Treasurer

January 1940

FORM OF LEGACY

*"I give and bequeath to the Rhode Island
Historical Society the sum of
dollars."*

ROGER WILLIAMS PRESS



PROVIDENCE

E. A. JOHNSON CO.



RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXXIII

JULY, 1940

No. 3



TEAPOT, BY SAUNDERS PITMAN, PROVIDENCE, R. I., 1732-1804

Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design

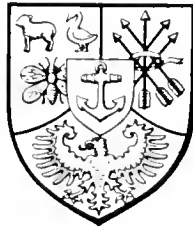
Issued Quarterly

68 WATERMAN STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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RHODE
HISTORICAL



ISLAND
SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXXIII

JULY, 1940

No. 3

CHARLES F. STEARNS, *President*
WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER, *Secretary*

ROBERT T. DOWNS, *Treasurer*
HOWARD M. CHAPIN, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

Rhode Island Silversmiths

DOROTHY NEEDHAM CASEY

Rhode Island, although territorially the smallest state in the Union, has been one of the largest in its contribution to the development of this country. According to history this state was one of the first in colonization and one of the most persistent in its struggles as an English Colony. Later, determined to establish independence, it declared its freedom two months prior to the other colonies. Active in the conflict was General Nathanael Greene, second to none but General Washington and one whom we proudly claim as a native son. In cultural activities, Rhode Island ranked among the foremost, but in no field better than in that of art. Gilbert Stuart, a native of our state, is acknowledged one of the greatest of the American portrait painters, while Edward Greene Malbone, also a Rhode Islander, gained fame as a miniature artist.

Not only in the fine arts are we able to claim distinction, but in the applied arts as well. John Goddard, the famous cabinetmaker of Newport, is the craftsman whom every furniture connoisseur wishes to name as the maker of his

secretary or chest of drawers. The Newport School of cabinetmakers including, besides Goddard, Job Townsend, the father-in-law of Goddard, and John Townsend, together with other members of these families, have earned for themselves meritable reputations.

The silversmiths of Newport were outstanding in their craft and were the veritable founders of the great jewelry and silver industries which have been developed to such an extent in Providence during the last century and a half. Unfortunately the wealth of Newport was somewhat dispersed when the British seized the city and occupied it for about three years during the American Revolution. Some of the Yankees retreated to Providence, while others fled to neighboring states. With the exodus of the Newport patriots, opportunities arose for the founding of industries in Providence, where some of them settled.

The English Colonies encouraged trade with the West Indies, and as a consequence, much Spanish coin was brought to New England. With no banks to insure the security of their money, many people, fearful of having it stolen, took the coins to silversmiths and had them made into pieces of hollowware. These pieces could, of course, be much more easily identified than coins and flatware, and thus loss by theft was less likely.

Some of our early silver was presented to churches for use in communion services, and as a result, many of our Rhode Island churches are extremely rich in this early craft.

While many pieces have been carefully preserved as family heirlooms, teasetts and other matching pieces have been unfortunately separated for distribution among heirs. This mistake has often been made, and much interest as well as monetary value has been lost because of a reluctance to give up what one had a legal right to claim.

Those who wished to be fashionable in the style of their silver had their old pieces melted and remodeled in the fashion of the day by contemporary silversmiths. In some instances the original pieces were not completely destroyed,

but were converted from tankards to water pitchers or coffeepots by the addition of lips. Each period sponsored a style of its own and while all do not equal in beauty, it is far better to accept the styles as they are than to interrupt the development of the pieces with alterations.

Rhode Island was most fortunate to have outstanding silversmiths in both Newport and Kingston during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. With more wealth in Newport during this period than in New York, the early craftsmen prospered, and fortunately many of their examples have survived to our day.

Arnold Collins was one of the most noteworthy of the early Rhode Island silversmiths and in 1690, made the seal, "Anchor and Hope," for the state emblem. A fine example



TANKARD, BY ARNOLD COLLINS, NEWPORT, R. I.,
WORKED 1690—DIED 1735

Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design

of his work is a flat-topped tankard with a body tapering toward the base. Near the molding at the base is a band of inverted heart-shaped devices in cut-card work. This type of decoration more closely resembles that made in New York. Inserted in the lid is a French écu bearing a portrait of Louis XV, King of France and Navarre. The tip for the hollow, S-shaped handle is decorated with a crest and the Latin and Gaelic inscriptions, *Through difficulty*. The maker's mark, the only guarantee that the silver was of good quality, was formed of Collins' initials, AC, within a rectangle. In England, it has been obligatory for centuries to impress silver with a government assay, date letter and city mark. By these marks, the owners have been assured of sterling quality. Frequently the silversmiths added their own initials. Here, in America, there was no legal standard and although the silver preserved to us presents an appearance of high quality, it may vary somewhat. However, analyses have proved that our early silversmiths must have been men of integrity.

Probably the leading early Rhode Island silversmiths was another Newport craftsman, Samuel Vernon. He was born there in 1683 the son of Daniel and Ann (Dyer) Vernon and the great-grandson of Ann Hutchinson. She and her husband, William, migrated to Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1634. With others of her belief, she was banished from the colony and settled in Rhode Island in 1638. Later she was massacred in New York by the Indians. Her greatness was undoubtedly perpetuated in the success of several of her descendants who became silversmiths. Among them were possibly the greatest American silversmiths, Edward Winslow of Boston, and John Coddington of Newport, as well as Samuel Vernon.

Perhaps the work of Vernon is the most eagerly sought Rhode Island silver, and many fine examples of his hollow-ware prove his skill in this field. The pieces vary from tankards, beakers, patens and porringers to interesting flat-ware. A fork with two tines and bearing his mark is a great

rarity which has recently been purchased by the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

Vernon was also well-known for his assistance in helping to decide the boundary line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire in 1737. He belonged to a family skilled in designing and making silver, Edward Winslow being his



PORRINGER AND SPOON, BY SAMUEL VERNON,
NEWPORT, R. I., 1683-1737

Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design

second cousin. The mark of the latter bears the fleur-de-lis as does that of Vernon. SV, with this floral motif, appears sometimes within a rectangle, but more frequently within a heart-shaped device.

John Coddington, whose family records appeared in England in 1200, was born in Newport in 1690, the son of Nathaniel and Susanna (Hutchinson) Coddington. Not only was he, also, the great-grandson of Ann Hutchinson, but was the grandson of William Coddington, the first governor of the Colony of Rhode Island. With such an ancestry, it is not unnatural that he left a fine record as a statesman and silversmith. As a Member of the House of Deputies seven times between the years 1721 and 1729, a Clerk of the Assembly in 1723, 1727 and 1728, a Protho-



CUP, BY JOHN CODDINGTON, NEWPORT, R. I., 1690-1743

Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design

notary, or chief notary, in 1727 and three times a Sheriff between 1733 and 1735, we wonder that he had any time to devote to his craft. In 1726 he was also a Colonel of the Militia.

Many pieces of his silver have been preserved to us and in the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, there are two fine pieces of hollowware, one a tankard with stepped and domed lid, and the other a cup with the lower section of the jug-shaped body embellished with gadrooning. The handle is of the S-shaped strap type. The maker's mark, IC within an emblem resembling a fruit, is impressed on both of these pieces. Coddington died in 1743 at fifty-three years of age.

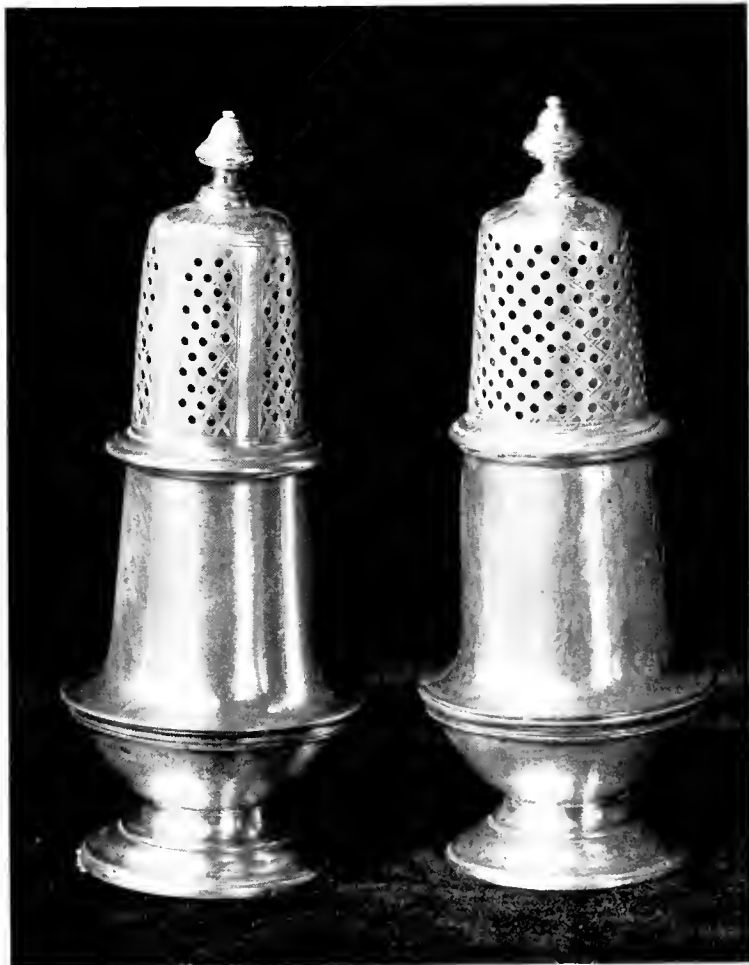
Very few Providence silversmiths worked here in the middle of the eighteenth century. A craftsman about whose life very little is known was Joshua Doane, who died in 1753. A fine tankard by him of the plain type with the body flaring toward the base and interrupted by a mid-band may be seen in the Mabel Brady Garvan Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Yale University. It has the stepped and domed lid surmounted by a finial, while the S-shaped handle terminates in a mask tip.

It is most interesting to know that not only did our American silversmiths work in silver, but occasionally in gold. Jonathan Clarke, who worked in Newport in 1734, made a small gold buckle for use on a suspender. Although so small as to be scarcely adequate to bear the maker's mark, IC within a rectangle, it is legibly impressed twice with the mark on the back. It is the property of Mr. Joseph Cushing of Providence and was lent by him to the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design for its Rhode Island Art Treasures Exhibition held during the past winter. Marked gold is very rare, and we seldom see these unusual pieces.

Another silversmith of whom little is known worked in Newport during the middle of the eighteenth century. He was Daniel Russell. Whenever his name is mentioned, the beautiful baptismal bowl made by him for Trinity Church

in Newport is immediately recalled. It was bequeathed by Nathaniel Kay, collector of royal customs in the town, and who made similar bequests to other Episcopal churches throughout the state in 1734. His great interest in the Episcopal Church was made evident when he, together with several others, presented a petition to Queen Anne in 1713 requesting that a bishop be appointed over the Church of England in the Colonies.

Another outstanding Newport craftsman who was born in 1723 in Sandwich, Massachusetts, was Jonathan Otis.



TWO CASTERS, BY JONATHAN OTIS,
NEWPORT, R. I., MIDDLETOWN, CONN., 1723-1791

Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design

At the time of the British occupation of Newport, he fled to Middletown, Connecticut, where he worked until his death in 1791. Casters, which were used for sprinkling sugar on to muffins, were frequently made by him. They were of the style known as the vase-shaped type and reflect the influence of the classic revival which was evident in all of our arts and crafts during the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Samuel Casey, son of Samuel and Dorcas (Ellis) Casey, was born probably in Newport about 1724. His grandfather, Thomas Casey, settled here about 1658. The parents of the silversmith lived in Newport for some time, later moved to North Kingstown and then to Exeter between 1740 and 1742. It was here that Casey was admitted as a freemen in 1745. In Exeter, he established himself as



ONE OF A PAIR OF CUPS, BY SAMUEL CASEY,
SOUTH KINGSTOWN, R. I.,
c. 1724-c. 1773

Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design

a silversmith, and a few years later, at Curtis Corners joined in partnership with his brother, Gideon. In 1763, when the latter moved to Warwick, he sold his interest in the property to Samuel. One year later, his house, together with its furnishings, burned causing a loss of approximately five thousand pounds.

After this disaster, Samuel moved to the Helme House in Little Rest, now known as Kingston, where he continued to work for nearly six years. It was here that he began his counterfeiting of Spanish coins. After being convicted of this crime and sentenced to hang, he was freed from prison by a number of friends who broke into the jail and released him. Despite the efforts of the authorities to locate him, he was never seen after his escape, although it is believed that several residents of Little Rest were quite aware of his whereabouts.

Casey was probably the greatest Rhode Island silver-smith of that period. Great variety is found in his hollow-ware — porringers, casters, cups, creamers and teapots. An outstanding piece, historically, is a tankard made by him for presentation to Ezra Stiles when he resigned his Tutorship at Yale College in 1755. Two beautifully wrought pieces, still in Rhode Island, are pear-shaped teapots. One was made for Abigail Robinson, whose initials and arms appear on the side in elaborate engraving. It is the property of Mrs. Everitte St. John Chaffee of Providence. A similar piece is owned by the Newport Historical Society.

Gideon Casey, the brother of Samuel, never attained such fame. Although in partnership with his brother for a decade, scarcely any examples of Gideon's work can be found. Two spoons with the shell and drop on the back of the bowl are included in the famous Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. These bear the maker's mark, G: CASEY within a rectangle, on the back of the handle.

John Hancock, possessing the same name as the great American statesman, was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1732, the son of John and Susanna (Chickering)

Hancock. He finally came to Providence and in 1760 was married to Martha Sparhawk. Little more information than this can be found relating to him, except the fine remaining examples of his work. A beautiful tankard with mid-band and flame finial is in the Clearwater Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It was wrought by him from silver coin for Benjamin Wyman of Woburn, Massachusetts.

Henry Pitman settled in Nassau, New Providence, one of the Bahama Islands, about 1666. His son, John, married Mary Saunders and after the burning of the town by French and Spaniards in July 1703, moved to Newport in 1710. So much misfortune resulted in the early deaths of this couple in 1711. These were the ancestors of Saunders Pitman, a Providence silversmith. He worked in a three story house on the west side of North Main Street. In a quotation from *Mechanics Festival and Historic Sketches* — *Providence 1860*, we read, "Industrious in his business,



CREAMER, BY SAUNDERS PITMAN,
PROVIDENCE, R. I., 1732-1804

Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design

punctual in his dealings, and exemplary in his morals, he uniformly sustained, through life, a fair and unimpeached character."

He was a very prolific craftsman, and many pieces still exist as evidence of his excellent work. One of the most interesting and unique pieces is a large water pitcher with bulbous body and hawk's beak lip. It is the property of the Estate of Nathaniel Herreshoff of Bristol. His teapots, creamers and flatware were very popular in the vicinity of Providence.

Two boat-shaped sauce boats, each with three hoof feet and long lip, are beautifully wrought pieces by Thomas Arnold of Newport. He was born in 1739 and died in 1828. These fine pieces are the property of Mr. William Davis Miller of Wakefield.

Another interesting piece by Arnold is a saucepan with a wooden handle at right angles to the lip. It is on exhibition in the Mabel Brady Garvan Collection. Pear-shaped creamers, mounted on cabriole legs, introducing the curves of the rococo style, and flatware may also be found bearing his mark, sometimes impressed with his initials, and occasionally with surname in full.

Joseph Perkins, son of Edward and Elizabeth (Brenton) Perkins, was born in South Kingstown in 1749. Governor William Brenton was his great-grandfather. Perkins' occupations were quite varied as he was a merchant, gunsmith and silversmith of Little Rest. In addition to these duties he served for one year in 1781 with the Kingston Reds, an independent company of the militia. He died in 1789 in the fortieth year of his age. Since he was interested chiefly in mercantile pursuits, we find his work as a silversmith was retarded. This is evidenced by a failure to find a greater variety and number of pieces, his silverware being comprised principally of flatware such as buckles and spoons.

Thomas Coverly, although listed only as a silversmith of Newburyport, Massachusetts, has been reported to have worked in Newport in 1760. A can, a drinking vessel with

a bulbous body and double scroll handle, is an interesting piece by him in the Collection of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design. His mark, T. COVERLY within a rectangle, is impressed on the base.

Another Newport silversmith who was born in 1753 was Daniel Rogers, chosen deputy to the Assembly from Newport in 1792, the year of his death. Porringers, cans and flatware appear today as evidence of his skill as a silversmith.

A silversmith who was born in Wickford in 1730 was William Waite, the son of Benjamin and Abigail (Hall) Waite. Not only was he a craftsman, but was also a preacher of the gospel in the Baptist ministry. Although listed as a silversmith with his mark, W: WAITE within a rectangle, I have not yet seen a piece wrought by him. Since he later moved to Cambridge, New York, one might find examples of his work in that vicinity.

His brother, John Waite, is represented by many fine pieces. He, also, was born in Wickford. His great-grandfather, Samuel, was one of the original landholders in this town. John probably went to live at the home of his elder brother, Dr. Benjamin Waite, in South Kingstown, and while there, became apprenticed to Samuel Casey.

"He was one of the petitioners to the Assembly for a charter for an independent company of militia under the name of the 'Kingston Reds.' The charter was granted in the October Session, 1775, and within less than one year Waite had become Captain and remained in command until May of the year 1799

" In May, 1787, he was appointed as the Fifth Justice of the Supreme Court of the State, but for reasons now unknown he declined. Nine years later he was again appointed to the Bench, this time as a Justice of the Common Pleas of Washington County and this time he accepted and retained this position until 1799, the same year that he resigned as commander of the Kingston Reds. He was a

Justice of the Peace from 1791 to 1796 and from 1799 until his death on October 19, 1817.”¹

An interesting pair of sugar tongs attributed to him by Mr. William Davis Miller, the owner, are of the early bow type. The arms are nicely designed with undulating leaf scrolls and terminate in shell tips. Instead of the usual marks, I. WAITE or J. WAITE, J. W. within a rectangle is impressed on each arm. Porringers, creamers and flatware were also made by him.

Nathaniel Helme, son of Judge James and Esther (Powell) Helme, was the great-grandson of Gabriel Beron, a Huguenot of North Kingstown. Despite the fact that his family possessed wealth, Nathaniel was an enterprising young man and produced some beautiful pieces of silver. Undoubtedly he would have achieved great success had his career not been interrupted by death early in life, he having died in South Kingstown in 1789 in the twenty-ninth year of his age.

Because of this, few pieces remain from which to judge his work. A porringer with a keyhole handle is the property of Mr. Frank Mauran, Jr., of Providence.

Ezekiel Burr, a Providence craftsman, who was born in 1764, produced much flatware — ladles and spoons of great variety may be found bearing his mark. In 1792, he was in business with his brother, William, and maintained a shop a little south of the Baptist Meeting House.

Another Providence silversmith was Calvin Wheaton, who worked in gold and silver in 1790 in a shop opposite Governor Fenner's house and in 1791 at the sign of the Clock opposite the Friend's Meeting House. A beautiful serving spoon, large enough to serve the Thanksgiving dinner, is in the Collection of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design. It is decorated with the bright-cut engraving which became so popular at the close of the eighteenth century.

¹See “The Silversmiths of Little Rest,” by William Davis Miller.

Seril Dodge was a Providence gold- and silversmith as well as a watch- and clockmaker. He maintained a shop in 1788 just north of the Baptist Meeting House on North Main Street and was particularly well-known for the shoe buckles which he wrought. A little creamer with an urn-shaped body and splay base was made by him of the silver buttons from Esek Hopkins' uniform. It is now owned by Mrs. Elizabeth C. Babbitt of Boston. Later, Seril Dodge moved to Pomfret, Connecticut, where he died in 1802.

Nehemiah Dodge, a silversmith and jeweler as well, established himself in Providence about 1798. He was situated on North Main Street in a shop on the Roger Williams estate. There are examples of his flatware varying from pieces decorated with bright-cut engraving to those with coffin-shaped and fiddle back candles. These prove his merit as a silversmith, but he is, perhaps, of greater importance to Providence and its history as an early manufacturer of moderately-priced jewelry.

It was said of him, "He possessed great energy and activity, and the industry of a long life was crowned with success."

John C. Jenckes, whose record as a Christian could not possibly have been surpassed, was a silversmith who worked as an apprentice to John Gibbs in a shop on the corner of Westminster and Exchange Streets. After the death of Mr. Gibbs in 1798, Jenckes went into partnership with Eliza Gibbs, the widow. This continued for two years, and after that he carried on business alone on Friendship Street.

Another Providence silversmith was Pardon Miller, who died in 1800. Although most of the pieces by him were flatware, there is a lovely porringer with a keyhole handle bearing his mark and owned by Mrs. Robert L. Blackinton of Providence.

There were many more craftsmen of this period who produced silver, particularly flatware. Among them were Elnathan C. Brown, Christopher Burr, Walter Cornell, William Hamlin, B. H. Tisdale and Peleg Weeden.

George Baker, who worked in 1825 in Providence, wrought several teaset. They were large in size and ornate in decoration. Beautiful gadrooning was usually overpowered by the heavy ungraceful shapes. Flower heads were frequently used as finials, while the bases were generally large and cumbersome. As a whole the pieces lacked the delicacy and excellent proportions, developed to such great extent in the eighteenth century. The love of simplicity among the Colonists and early Americans of the Republic continued for more than one hundred and fifty years. After all simple designs and shapes had been exhausted, extreme ornamentation was again introduced.

These craftsmen all helped to establish an industry in Providence that has continued to the present day. Not only was it the skill of these early Rhode Island silversmiths, but also their ideals and determination to succeed which helped to raise the industrial standard of this country.

Although, as already stated, no standard of silver existed in this country in the early days, the quality of the metal compares very favorably with the sterling quality demanded by England. Constant trade with the mother country brought about our adoption of the sterling quality about 1865, thus avoiding difficulties involved with the exchange.

Rhode Island has produced much beautiful silverware and is most fortunate in being able to claim among the native craftsmen so many whose reputations rank among the foremost of this country.

All of the cuts were lent to the Rhode Island Historical Society by the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

Journal of My Visit to the Eastward Commencing in August, 1781

By W. ROGERS

(Continued from Vol. XXXIII, p. 44)

N. B. Silas Winchester from Phil'a. being present was much chagrin'd when his Brother's Apostacy was in ye Course of our Proceedings descanted upon.

Thursday Sep: 13. Afr'n. Business being finished the preceeding Day—Set out with Presid't. Manning early this Morning on our Return to Providence. Halted a Short Space at a Mr. Fisk's in Sturbridge. Dined at Mr. Coles, Woodjnk. Proceeded as far as Pomfret & Lodged at Mr. Benj: Thurber's—much fatigued.

Friday, Sept. 14. Dined at Seepatchet alias Gloucester. Got back to Providence just in the Evening. Went to Post Office & Recd. a Letter from Col. Miles of ye 28th Ult.: Informing me that my Family was well. Put up at Johnny's.

Saturday Sept. 15. Answer'd Mr. Stillman's Letter & wrote to Uncle Thurston & Brother Danl. Breakfasted at Nicholas Brown's with Mr. Ustic—Dined at Johnny's.

Sunday Sep: 16. Robt. came up this Morning from Coventry—Pursuant to Request preached Each part of ye Day in the Presbyterian Church, they being Destitute of a Minister. Put a Letter in Post Office for Col: Miles—Towards Ev'g. set out for Coventry with Robt., got to his house just after 9 o'clock.

Monday Sep: 17. Spent the Day at Bobby's—with whom Dined an agreeable Company.

Tuesday Sep: 18. Breakfasted at Mr. Jacob Green's—Between 11 & 12 o'clock set out with Robt. &c. for Greenwich. Went to ye Governor's & Dined, was to have preached

this Afternoon by Appointm't. but prevented by a furious S E Storm which Commenc'd abt. 11 o'clock A.M. & lasted 'till near 5 P.M. Tarryed at the Governor's all Night.

Wednesday Sep: 19. The preceeding Night arrived on Express from Gov: Bowen of Providence to Gov: Green purporting that 40 Sail of ye Enemy's Vessels were in ye sound Supposed to be on Some Distressing Plan—Abt. Day Light ye Same Accounts arrived from Newp't. Breakfasted at Gov: Green's & afterwards set out for Providence thro Patuxett in Company with Mr. Bacon ye Express—A very pleasant Day! Got to Providence at 10 o'clock—Dined at Mr. Carter's. Being there in ye Evening Mr. Manning & Mr. Backus came to me, went home with Mr. Manning, and lodged at his house with Mr. Backus.

Thursday Sep: 20. Breakfasted at Mr. N. Brown's. A.M. Rode to Judge Morey's in Smithfield 9 Miles from Town, dined there with his Lady. P.M. Returned as far as Mr. John Jenckes's & took Coffee—Visited Com: Hopkins's Family & got back to Bro: Johnny's just at Dusk. A wet, disagreeable Day!

Friday Sep: 21. Rainy Cold Morning! Dined at Mr. Bliven's. P.M. Attended a Funeral. Post got in but brought no Letter for me, felt somewhat unwell in ye Ev'g.

Saturday Sep: 22. Breakfasted at Mr. Manning's & Dined at Home—Sister Barker arrived from Coventry with Sanf'd.

Sunday Sep: 23. Preached Both Parts of ye Day for the Presbyterians. After Service waited on Mrs. Hitchcox & took Tea.

Monday Sept. 24. Breakfasted at Mr. N. Brown's. Wrote a Letter to Post to Mrs. Rogers. Dined at Mr. Manning's. An Exceedingly pleasant Day, the Weather having alter'd greatly for the Better.

Tuesday Sep: 25. At 11 o'clock A.M. Bid Adieu to Providence Friends.—Crossed ye lower Ferry & got to Mr. Thompson's in Swansey to Dine, preached at 2 o'clock &

after Service was Introduc'd to Mr. Ingalls. In ye Evening went down to my Cousin Comer's & tarried the Night.

Wednesday Sep: 26. Having Breakfasted prepared for going, Called in to See Sally Coggeshall, an Object of Real Distress! Had an Excellent Time over Bristol Ferry, took ye East Road & Stop'd at Mr. Lawton's to See Mrs. Hanners, Enjoyed a pleasing Interview, Dined there & then went to Newport, Drank Coffee at Mr. Southwick's, Put up at Uncle Thurston's who is Considerably better, met with Josey & Robt. with their Wives.

Thursday Sep: 27. Dined at Uncle's. P.M. Walked to Elder Bliss's & Continued all Night, was agreeably Entertain'd.

Friday Sep: 28. A most beautifull Morning, Returned after Breakfast to Town & had handed me a Letter from Johnny of ye 26th Inst. wrote at the Desire of some of the principal Episcopalians in Providence earnestly requesting my Becoming their Minister, much obliged to the Gentlemen for their good Opinion of my poor Abilities but many Circumstances prevent a Compliance. Visited Col. Elliott who is gradually mortifying. Dined with Uncle Thurston, Rob't. &c at Mr. John Bours's where we had the Company of Mr. Parker an Episcopal Clergyman from Boston. Drank Tea there also. Felt occasionally *Chagrin'd* at many Torified Remarks made in ye Course of ye Afternoon.

Saturday Sep: 29. P.M. Preached for Seventh Day Church, a thin Congregation owing to the unsettled Weather. Drank Tea at Abby & Becky Sanford's.

Sunday Sep: 30. Early this Morning Rec'd. a Letter from Johnny in Providence Inclosing One of ye 10th Inst. from Mr. Kelly in Phil'a. giving me the pleasing Intelligence of the health of my Dear Mrs. Rogers & c. Billy, may a kind Providence Return me to them in Safety! By Mr. Kelly's Letter it appears that Mrs. Rogers wrote me on 26th Ult: wch as I have not Rec'd. must have been

taken with ye Mail lately Carryed into York - - A.M. Preached in Trinity Church. Ditto P.M. Felt much Freedom. The Church between Services was occupied by Mr. Parker as also after Afternoon Service, heard him the last Time, he appears to be a good Compomist & a middling Speaker. Drank Tea at Mr. Hazard's. A most beautifull Day which occasioned Newp't. Streets to appear considerably Lively.

Monday Octob'r. 1. Wrote a Letter to Johnny in Answer to his of ye 26th Ult: & forwarded it by Bobby. Rode out with Uncle Thurston to Mrs. McQuarter's at Whitehall, Returned & Dined at Mr. Fowler's, Drank Tea at Mrs. Perkins's, Arrived a Vessel from Egg Harbor whose Captain Reports that on Tuesday last an Express got to Phil'a. announcing the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis, y't. it may be true is my Sincere Wish.

Tuesday Oct: 2. Rose very Early & Breakfasted at Mr. Bours's, after wch set out with him for Westerly, had an agreeable Time over Connanicut & Narragansett Ferries. At 1/2 past 2 o'ck. Reached Lydia's distant from Newp't. 30 Miles, found Sally with her, the Situation of Col: Noyes's house Exceedingly pleasant! Mr. Bours went on to Doct'r. Babcock's, Enjoyed on ye Road a Variety of Agreeable Chat with him. Tarryed at Lydia's, the whole Family with wch She has form'd a Connection very kind to me, Tommy her husband appears to be of a most amiable Disposition. Rainy Evening!

Wednesday Oct: 3. Beautifull Morning! A.M. Visited Genl. Green's Lady. Dined at Tommy's with whom took a Ride in ye afternoon over the Farm & along the Beach, a most advantageous Place for Fishing & Fowling! Towards Evening came Danl. & Nancy & staid the Night.

Thursday Oct: 4. Mrs. Brenton and myself walk'd over to Mrs. Green's. Dined at Col: Noyes's, after Dinner went home with Danl. & Nancy accompanied wth Lyd'a Sally &c.

Friday Oct: 5. Preceeding Night very Cold, Standing Water froze quite hard. Dined & Spent the Day at Mr. Brenton's.

Saturday Oct: 6 At 12 o'clock preached at Hopkinton for Seventh Day Church. While at Dinner at Dan's. with a Large Company Rob't. arrived from Providence but brought no public News. Towards Evening Rode home with Br. Noyes & Lodged.

Sunday Oct: 7. A.M. Preached in the Presbyterian Meeting House at Westerley. Owing to the wretched Condition of the Building & the Rawness of the Day but Few Comparatively attended Service. Dined at Col: Noyes's with a numerous Circle. Rob't. & myself went home with Dan'l. & Lodged. Evening much pleasanter than the Morning. tho' somewhat Cold.

Monday Oct: 8. Dined with many others at Dr. Babcock's & Spent an agreeable Afternoon. Parted with Bobby Lydia and Sally &c. In the Evening Mr. Manning pursuant to prior Determination arrived at Daniel's on his Journey Westward, felt much Pleasure at Seeing him! Dr. Babcock & Lady, Mr. Brenton & Lady Sup'd with us, with whom Enjoyed an agreeable Interview. May Indulgent Heaven Reward all my Eastern Friends & Relatives for their kindness towards me.

Tuesday Oct: 9. After an Early Breakfast, President Manning & myself sat out on our Journey towards Philada. Dan'l accompanied us 6 Miles, An Exceeding fine Day! Dined at Mr. Belton's in Groton. P.M. Took a View of Fort Griswold, after which Crossed the Ferry & Rode thro' ye Town of New London to observe the Ruins. the Sight affected our Hearts! Destroyed Buildings, Weeping Widows and Fatherless Children! Surely some hidden Curse awaits the Villains who have thus Imbu'd their Lands in Innocent Blood! Crossed Rope Ferry & put up just at Dusk at Col: Parsons's in Lyme, 30 Miles

from Pocatucke Bridge. Doct: Flagg arrived Immediately after us on his Way from Philad'a. to Rhode Island.

Wednesday Oct: 10. Started about Day Light but Detain'd sometime in Crossing Saybrook Ferry. Breakfasted at Killingsworth, a very good Inn! Halted better than an Hour at Fowler's Tavern in Guilford Parish, from whence in ye Afternoon jogged Steadily on to New Haven Ferry, had a bad Time over. Got to New Haven before Sunset & put up at Mr. Helmer's. Journey 40 Miles. Felt much fatigued & had considerable of an Head Ach.

Thursday Oct: 11. Partook of a very early Breakfast & then proceeded on to Milford where we halted at Parson Wales's. Crossed Stratford Ferry & Reached Poquonot abt. 12 o'clock, Dined at Esqr. Hubbell's. P.M. Passed thro' Greenfield & Spent a few Minutes with Parson Ten-
nent, from Greenfield went to Willton, Roads very Bad! Put up for the Night at a Tavern kept by one Middlebrook, distant from New Haven 39 Miles.

Friday Oct: 12. Rode 6 Miles before Sunrise & Afterwards passed thro' Ridgefield on to Upper Salem & Breakfasted at Capt. Hunt's. Fell into Chat with Lt. Col: Johnson of ye Connecticut Line whose Company we Enjoyed thro' Crumpond near to Peekskill, Halted & Refresh'd our Horses at a Mr. Carman's. Previous to our reaching Peekskill it began to Rain, proceeded notwithstanding on to King's Ferry & Crossed with some Difficulty. Just at Dusk got to a Parson Burns's who keeps an house of Entertainment in Haverstran 3 1/2 Miles from the Ferry, a Small Building but good Fare! The Presid't. & myself were wet to the Skin, on wch Acct. we had but an uncomfortable Even'g. However "What can't be Cur'd must be Endur'd" And it is the Duty of All "To make the Best of a bad Bargain" Journey to Day 42 Miles. It was our Intention to have visited the Army under Genl. Heath but as they Lay 3 or 4 Miles above Peekskill we thought it considering our long Journey unadvisable.

Saturday Oct: 13. Owing to my being wet had but a poor Night's Rest. At Kakeat we were overtook by Col: Skinner & another Gentleman, A Junction highly acceptable as we were now in a very dangerous Road. Breakfasted at Mr. Sovereign's Mouth of the Clove. Enquir'd the Safest Way & being Directed proceeded on to Paramus, Soon after we left Sovereign's perceived that I had lost somewhere this Morning a Link & One Eye of a gold Sleeve Button, found ye other Eye, a loss this tho' trifling I reflected much on as the Pair were one of ye last Presents from my ever hon'd. Mamma! Previous to our reaching Hopper's Tavern at Paramus an amazingly heavy Gust of Wind came on so that we were scarcely able to set on Horseback, this being accompanied with Rain compell'd us to Stop short of our Intended Stage, we were cast under the Roof of an hospitable, curious, Swearing old Man by ye Name of to Restrain Laughter with such an Oddity was morally Impossible, he kept us all upon the high Key during our Detention with him wch was more than an Hour! The Rain Subsiding decamp'd from this Mansion and Reluctantly parted Company with Col: Skinner near Hopper's. Our Course lay thro' Totowa where upon our Arrival we walked across the Bridge & view'd the Man with ye Big Head, he appears very good Natur'd but is a Shocking Object! Recrossing the Bridge we Rode up the Passaick & took a View of the Great Falls! Abt. 1 1/2 Miles above wch we forded the River & went by a "Deaf" Road on to Post's Mills. In ye Woods leading thither we discover'd the Effects of ye Hurricane by the Fall of many Trees! At Post's Mills, Obtain'd Directions for Newark Mountain Meeting House where we got just before Day Light in & then had 10 Miles to Ride in Order to Reach Mr. Stiles's in Connecticut Farms upon wch Mr. Manning was fully bent, It being Dark we were Excessively puzzled to find the Way & ye More we Enquir'd of ye Inhabitants the more they appear'd to Darken Counsel with Words however after much turn-

ing to ye Right & to the Left we at Length arrived our Horses & ourselves amazingly fatigued having Rode at Least 55 Miles. Just before we dismounted at Mr. Stiles's Door my horse fell with me but thro' Mercy did me no Injury. In 5 Days we Rode more than 200 Miles. Sup'd & soon went to Bed.

Sunday Oct: 14. This Morning felt much Refresh'd. Mr. Manning went to Scot's Plains Meeting & preached. Returned between 4 & 5 o'clock P.M. & heard me at Mr. Stiles's, Notice being so Short but Few People attended.

Monday Oct: 15. Tarry'd at Mr. Wites's 'till after Dinner when we took our Leave & rode thro' Westfield on to Piscatawa about 12 Miles & Lodged at one Mr. Randal's own Uncle to Mr. Manning.

Tuesday Oct: 16. Went to Mrs. Welle's & Breakfasted, found her & ye Family much dejected owing to the Death of her Husband Rev: Mr. Welle who Departed this Life on the 9th Inst. Proceeded by the Way of Brunswick Landing & Rocky Hill on to Hopewell, put up at Rev: Mr. Hart's who since my Absence has been made happy in the Coming of Mrs. Hart to his Country Mansion, Mrs. Hart with ye Rest of ye Family very agreeable! Evening & Night very Rainy & Raw.

Wednesday Oct: 17. Pleasant Morning! at a late hour in ye forenoon left Mr. Hart's, Crossed Howell's Ferry & upon our Reaching Newtown took some Refreshm't. at Mr. John Hart's from whence we proceeded on to Mr. Danhorn's in Southampton & Lodged where we met Messrs. Joshua Jones and Nicholas Cox.

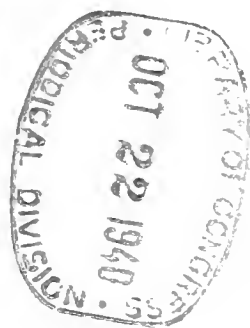
Thursday Oct: 18. A.M. Rode to Rev. S. Jones's & Billy well, for which & all other Favors may a kind God Dined. P.M. Reached Philad'a. & found Mrs. Rogers & make me truly thankfull.

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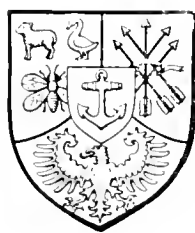
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announce with deep regret
the death of the Librarian

HOWARD MILLAR CHAPIN

on September 18, 1940

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Civil War Letters of William Ames

FROM BROWN UNIVERSITY TO BULL RUN

Edited by WILLIAM GREENE ROELKER

William Ames¹ was just nineteen and a sophomore at Brown when he was mustered into the Union Army as Second Lieutenant of Infantry, June 6, 1861. After fifty-one months of service he was mustered out brevet Brigadier-General of Artillery. During this period he was a conscientious correspondent and his hitherto unpublished letters to his family are a continuous account of the operations of the Rhode Island troops with which he served. Occasionally it needs to be supplemented by a brief account of the general military situation.

¹ Born in Providence, May 15, 1842, William Ames was the second son of Samuel and Mary Throop (Dorr) Ames. His father, a distinguished member of the Rhode Island Bar, was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, 1856-65. His mother was the daughter of Sullivan Dorr and brother of Thomas Wilson Dorr, of the "Dorr War." His older brother Sullivan Dorr Ames was a Lieutenant in the Navy.

Two days after the attack on Fort Sumter President Lincoln called for 75,000 militia for three-month service to suppress the rebellion. Five days later, April 20, 1861, the first detachment of the 1st Rhode Island Regiment, under the command of Col. Ambrose E. Burnside,² left Providence for the defense of Washington.³

But it soon became evident that it would take longer than ninety days to suppress the rebellion. On May 3 Lincoln issued a proclamation calling into service 42,034 three-year volunteers (unless sooner discharged), 22,714 enlisted men to add ten regiments to the regular army, 18,000 seamen for blockade service.

Entering Brown in the fall of 1859, William Ames left to join the army in June, 1861. In 1891, by special vote, he was awarded the degree of Master of Arts.

For a brief account of his military career, see John R. Bartlett, *Memoirs of Rhode Island Officers* (Providence, 1867), 241-42, hereinafter cited as Bartlett.

After the war Ames became prominent in the management of the Fletcher Mfg. Co. and the Providence Washington Insurance Co. For thirty years he was President of the Blackstone Canal National Bank. He was chairman of the commission which built the State House.

² Ambrose E. Burnside though born in Indiana was an adopted son of Rhode Island. He graduated from West Point (1847) and served in the Artillery in the Mexican War. He then came to Bristol and established a factory for the manufacture of a breech-loading rifle of his invention. This venture was unsuccessful and he removed to Chicago where he became Treasurer of the Illinois Central R. R. Co. Gov. Sprague appointed him Colonel 1st R. I. and he continued in command until it was mustered out, its time having elapsed, August 2, 1861. At the Battle of Bull Run, July 21, Col. Burnside was in command of the Second Brigade, Second Division, under Col. David Hunter. On August 6, 1861, he was commissioned Brigadier-General of Volunteers. Bartlett, 9-93.

³ Augustus Woodbury, *A Narrative of the Campaign of the First Rhode Island Regiment* (Providence, 1862), 1-17, hereinafter cited as Woodbury, *First R. I. Regt.*

Augustus Woodbury, Harvard Divinity School, '49, was a Unitarian minister, at the Westminster Society, Providence. He served as Chaplain of the First R. I. Regiment from April to August, 1861. He was a well known author and wrote the history of the Second R. I. Regiment.

Governor William Sprague⁴ had anticipated the call for more men and in mid-April had directed Adjutant General Edward C. Mauran⁵ to fill the ranks of the militia companies. So when the call came the men were already enlisted and Governor Sprague appointed Major John S. Slocum⁶ and Dr. Francis L. Wheaton,⁷ both of the 1st Regiment, to organize the Second Rhode Island Regiment. On May 31 the General Assembly passed the necessary legislation and Adj. Gen. Mauran ordered the regiment organized "forthwith." Slocum was appointed Colonel, Dr. Wheaton, Surgeon, and company officers were named, including the three officers of Company D, Capt. William H. P. Steere,⁸ First Lieutenant Edward H. Sears⁹ and Second Lieutenant William Ames.

⁴ William Sprague, Governor of Rhode Island, 1860-63, U. S. Senator, 1863-75. He was born in 1830, the son of Amasa and the nephew of William (Governor of Rhode Island, 1838-39, U. S. Senator, 1842-44) who formed the famous cotton manufacturing firm of A. & W. Sprague. "War Governor" Sprague early took an interest in military life, enlisting (1848) as a private in the Marine Artillery he rose to be Colonel. He was appointed a Brigadier-General of Volunteers but was not mustered in as he wished to retain his gubernatorial position. In the election of 1860 he was opposed to Lincoln but when the war began he bent every energy to assisting the Union cause. *The Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1881), 522, hereinafter cited as *Bio. Cyc.*; Bartlett, 105-114.

⁵ Edward C. Mauran was Adjutant General for Rhode Island throughout the war and was given the highest approbation of the Department of War for his efficient administration of affairs. *Proceedings, R. I. Hist. Soc.*, 1886-87, 75-77.

⁶ John S. Slocum of Richmond volunteered for service in the Mexican War and became a Captain. At the outbreak of the rebellion he was commissioned Major in the 1st R. I. and resigned to become Colonel of the 2d R. I. He was killed in action at Bull Run, July 21, 1861. Bartlett, 121-25.

⁷ Francis L. Wheaton of Providence: Surgeon 1st R. I., April 18, 1861; Surgeon 2d R. I., June 6, 1861; resigned Sept. 12, 1862. Unless otherwise noted all records are taken from Augustus Woodbury's *The Second Rhode Island Regiment* (Providence, 1875), hereinafter cited as Woodbury.

⁸ William H. P. Steere of Providence: Capt. Co. D, June 1, 1861;

The hurried departure of the 1st Rhode Island to the defense of Washington deprived the people of an opportunity to demonstrate their pride and affection for their soldiers with the result that the 2d Regiment received a double measure of attention. Governor Sprague led the way. Under the title, "Aid and Comfort for the Second Regiment" the *Providence Daily Post* editorially announced that "the collation usually given by the Chief Magistrates of the State on their return from [the summer session of the General Assembly at] Newport, will be omitted by Governor Sprague today, and the amount which would probably have been expended . . . , will be appropriated to the purchase of one thousand rubber blankets, to be presented to the Second Regiment."¹⁰ Thorndike C. Jameson,¹¹ who had been appointed Chaplain, received gifts of money for the benefit of the enlisted men;¹² the Rev. Mr. Carmody presented the Roman Catholic soldiers with "handsomely clasped prayer books" on behalf of Bishop McFarland.¹³ And on the day before the departure from Camp Burnside, Mr. Sanford of Seekonk gave Co. D eleven cans of milk, which the boys acknowledged with "three times three and a tiger."¹⁴

By the seventh of June the companies had all been mustered into the army of the United States—"the second three years regiment from New England,"¹⁵ and, "So care-

Lt.-Col., July 22, 1861; resigned to become Col. 4th R. I., June 12, 1862. Bartlett, 199-206.

⁹ Edward H. Sears of Providence: Student at Brown, 1858-61; 1st Lt. Co. D, June 6, 1861; Capt., July 22, 1861; resigned to become 1st Lt. R. I. Light Artillery. Son of President Barnas Sears of Brown University.

¹⁰ The *Providence Daily Post*, June 1, 1861, hereinafter cited as *Post*.

¹¹ Thorndike C. Jameson of Providence: Chaplain, June 11, 1861; Major, Dec. 13, 1862; resigned, Jan. 8, 1863.

¹² The *Providence Daily Journal*, June 20, 1861, hereinafter cited as *Journal*.

¹³ *Journal*, June 12, 1861.

¹⁴ *Journal*, June 18, 1861.

¹⁵ Woodbury, 17. There is a controversy as to whether the First or

ful had been the enlistments by the several commandants and the inspection of the regimental officer, that none were rejected.”¹⁶ The next day when they moved from Exchange Place up Westminster and High Streets to Camp Burnside on the Dexter Training Ground, the *Journal* proudly declared that “they presented a very fine appearance, and were much commended for their solid and soldierly appearance.”¹⁷

Every detail of camp life had an absorbing interest for the public. The newspapers were filled with items such as the arrival from New York “by propeller” of 840 muskets and “150 light artillery sabres;”¹⁸ the furnishing of two havelocks to each man, “one to protect the head and face against the heat of the sun, the other to be worn in the rain;”¹⁹ the presentation of “Burnside breech-loading carbines, . . . a very effective weapon, manufactured by the Bristol Fire Arms Co., No. 116 Dorrance St.” to the officers of Co. C;²⁰ and the consumption of 250 gallons of clam chowder on Friday, June 20.²¹

At evening dress-parade on June 12, Mayor Jabez C. Knight²² on behalf of the ladies of Providence presented “the colors—a national ensign, a regimental flag, and the proper guidons—” to Capt. Nelson Viall’s color Co. C and “pledged the members to see that no traitor’s hand ever profanely wrested them from their custody.”²³

Second Massachusetts was the first three-year regiment from New England. In either case the 2d R. I. was the second. Cf. Alonzo H. Quint, *The Record of the Second Massachusetts Infantry* (Boston, 1867), 21n.

¹⁶ *Journal*, June 6, 1861.

¹⁷ *Journal*, June 10, 1861.

¹⁸ *Post*, June 3, 1861.

¹⁹ *Journal*, June 14, 1861. A havelock is a light cloth cover for the cap and is worn around the neck. It is named for Sir Henry Havelock, a British General in the Indian mutiny.

²⁰ *Journal*, June 19, 1861. This was the rifle invented by Burnside.

²¹ *Post*, June 15, 1861.

²² Woodbury, 21-22. Jabez C. Knight was Mayor of Providence, 1859-64. He was for 47 years a Trustee of Butler Hospital.

²³ *Journal*, June 13, 1861. Nelson Viall of Providence served as a

These evening parades attracted thousands but the papers noticed that "The object of the encampment, to accustom the soldiers to the details of camp duty, is most industriously pursued. Everything is conducted according to the formal regulations of the army."²⁴ Rhode Island's pride rose when it appeared that the daily drills were "perceptibly improving the troops."²⁵ But everything did not go right. The night before departure a deserter had to be drummed out of camp. "He was stripped of his uniform, then marched the length of the parade with two soldiers in the rear with their bayonets pointed to his person, and a file of soldiers besides."²⁶

Shortly after 3 P. M., on Wednesday, June 19, the 2d Regiment struck its tents and "In a few minutes the canvas cones, which had somewhat resembled a good sized village laid out with more than usual regularity," all disappeared. Each soldier in line carried a knapsack containing his "kit," weighing 20-25 pounds, a musket weighing 13 pounds, a haversack for his provisions, a canteen and a cup.²⁷ The column paused in Exchange Place to hear a brief address by Bishop Clark²⁸ and then embarked on the steamer *State of Maine*. "The troops were in fine spirits, and as they left rounds of cheers broke forth, aroused by the vast throng on the wharf."²⁹ Next day's *Post* announced editorially that Rhode Island had sent another regiment of 1000 "true-hearted men to battle

volunteer in the Mexican War. First Lt. 1st R. I., April 18, 1861; Capt. Co. C, 2d R. I., June 1, 1861; Major, July 22, 1861; Lt.-Col., June 12, 1862; Col., Dec. 13, 1862; resigned, Jan. 25, 1863. Bartlett, 339-343.

²⁴ *Journal*, June 14, 1861.

²⁵ *Journal*, June 15, 1861.

²⁶ *Journal*, June 20, 1861.

²⁷ *Post*, June 20, 1861.

²⁸ Thomas M. Clark, Yale '31, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Rhode Island, 1854-1903. Member of the Sanitary Commission. For many appreciations of his distinguished career, see *Journal*, Sept. 8, 9, 10, 1903.

²⁹ *Journal*, June 20, 1861.

for the cause of the Union, and for the integrity of the Constitution.”³⁰

Thursday the Regiment disembarked at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and transferred to 22 passenger and 51 freight cars. Routed via Harrisburg, to avoid the change at Havre de Grace, it was Friday, at 8 P. M. before the train reached Baltimore. Trouble was anticipated because the 6th Massachusetts and other regiments had been attacked while crossing the city. But the 2d Rhode Island led by Governor Sprague and the band passed through the town, the *Journal's* correspondent reporting that “it was warmly cheered at every step by the crowds in the streets and the people from the houses.”³¹

Ames took the first opportunity to write home.

Camp Clark June 25/61

Dear Mother

I received your very welcome letter this evening. We had a very tedious ride for forty eight hours. At last after much fatigue we arrived in Baltimore. I was very much surprised and at the same time very much rejoiced to find father in the depot.³² We passed through the city with little or no interruption with the exception now and then a cheer for Jeff., and a few

³⁰ *Post*, June 20, 1861.

³¹ *Journal*, June 28, 1861. Under his pen name “Tockwotton,” Chaplain Jameson wrote that the crowd in the streets had “much of a peculiar freeness and impertinence of *manner*—but the only insulting demonstration that I heard was a shout for Jeff Davis by a single person. But he was instantly knocked down by a bystander and there the matter ended.” *Press*, June 27, 1861.

³² The 2d R. I. was accompanied by Governor Sprague, Bishop Clark, Judge Samuel Ames, John R. Bartlett (Secretary of State), Mayor Knight and Colonels William Goddard and John A. Gardner of the Governor's staff.

William Goddard, Brown '46, was a member of the First Light Infantry. On June 10, he was temporarily appointed Lt.-Col., 2d R. I. and served until the Regiment left for Washington. When Gen. Burnside

bricks thrown at the baggage wagons. Our numbers no doubt kept them from attacking us. We arrived in Washington about three o'clock in the morning. . . .³³

Father no doubt has given you an account of our camp as he was present at the services on Sunday and heard the bishop's sermon. . . . At present we are about all down with that disease which is so prevalent here, brought on by drinking the water in these regions which contains a great deal of lime. . . . I am going into town this morning to get a bath. . . .

Yesterday [June 24] all the R. I. troops marched in review before Gen. Scott and the President, who were standing upon the steps of the White House, the old Gen. looks a little the worse for wear but is a very fine looking man in his old age. The President is very much changed since he was in Providence³⁴ as he now has a very black beard and is very easy in his manners such as they are. . . .³⁵

This was written on a carpet bag. . . .

Your affec son

W^m Ames

"Galen" reported to the *Press* that the 2d Regiment, "having had the experience of a camp in Providence, . . .

succeeded Gen. Pope in command of the Army of the Potomac (1862) he called Goddard to be his aide-de-camp, as Colonel of Volunteers.

John A. Gardner of Pawtucket, Brown '52, was Clerk of the Superior Court, 1855-65; legal advisor of A. & W. Sprague, 1860-64; U. S. District Attorney, 1871-77. *Bio. Cyc.*, 520.

³³ Henry A. DeWitt, Engineer, 1st R. I., who laid out Camp Sprague, wrote the *Journal*: "Our unseasonable reveille of Saturday morning brought upon the parade ground a thousand unwashed, unkempt, sleepy, growling men, trying to make believe glad to meet their comrades in arms of the 2d regiment, but inwardly, if not outwardly, wishing that the train had delayed its coming until after sunrise. Nevertheless we drew up in line and cheered with tolerable vivacity from right to left, as the dusty wayfarers filed by." *Journal*, June 26, 1861.

³⁴ Abraham Lincoln, a candidate for the Republican nomination, spoke in Railroad Hall in the old depot to a large and enthusiastic audience on February 28, 1860. *Journal*, Feb. 29, 1860.

had less confusion and difficulty in settling down 'than the 1st.'"³⁶

Ames wrote his mother, June 26:

"I am at last settled down in my quarters, which are situated in a beautiful grove [Gale's Woods] about one mile and a quarter from Washington."³⁷ The only fault

³⁵ Another account of this review by "DeWitt" was published in the *Journal*, June 29, 1861.

"The 2nd regiment set forth . . . at 5 P. M. on Monday followed immediately by the 1st, each with its band, the two batteries of light artillery closing the rear. An impressive sight it was, and a proud day for little Rhody, for over two thousand of her sons, in broad platoons, with steady step, thoroughly equipped, armed in great measure with weapons invented by her own citizens, marched through Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House. The column passed in at one gate, round the semicircle passing the portico, where stood the President with a few friends, and out the other gate. Thence the march was continued a few squares to the west, to the residence of Gen. Scott. Standing at the curb-stone, with head uncovered, surrounded by his staff, the veteran gazed with pride upon our sturdy battalions as men to be trusted in a perilous hour. Nothing of the prestige won by Rhode Island has been lost since this ampler display of her resources."

The expression "armed in great measure with weapons invented by her own citizens" refers to the Burnside breech-loading rifle, invented by Ambrose E. Burnside (Cf. notes 2 and 20) and the rifled cannon invented by Gen. Charles T. James, U. S. Senator, 1851-57, founder of the Atlantic DeLaine mill at Olneyville, *History of Washington and Kent Counties* (New York, 1889), 1157.

"DeWitt" reported to the *Journal*, July 12, that Gen. James was at Camp Sprague "to look after his noisy pets, the rifled cannon," of which the 2d Battery had a full complement. A few days later Gen. James called on Lincoln who told his "old law associate" Henry C. Whitney: "'Well as James makes *canning* [cannon], I reckon I must see him.'" But the afternoon passed without James being mentioned and "Whitney held suspicions that General James's having *canning* to sell was a botheration to the President." Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln, The War Years* (New York, 1939), I, 310, hereinafter cited as Sandburg. Gen. James was killed by an explosion of one of his guns at Sag Harbor, Long Island, October 17, 1862.

³⁶ *Press*, June 26, 1861.

³⁷ "Many of the men go daily into the city and roam at large over the public grounds and through the public buildings and all places of interest." *Press*, July 6, 1861.

we find . . . is the entire absence of any stream of water deep enough to bathe in. Our water works consist of a miserable little brook just back of the camp which is kept entirely clouded by the frequent washing of dirty shirts. . . . You can judge what our means for bathing two thousand men are. We have our cooking department nicely arranged so that we are living like human beings."

"The weather still continues to be very hot indeed [Ames wrote his father June 28]. But you should see us after dinner lieying [sic] upon our camp beds beneath the tall trees smoking our pipes and thinking of nothing. It is truly the laziest life a man can lead. We are all impatient to get into Virginia and have a brush with the rebels. As you remarked when you were here it seems more like a giant picnic than the encampment of a large army."

In response to his mother's request for a sketch of camp life he wrote:

"We rise at five o'clock at which time the 'Reveille' is sounded, after performing our 'devotions' and other necessary duties we prepare for breakfast or in other words, 'Peas upon a Trencher.' We were very lucky in finding an excellent cook in our company and we are at present living upon the fat of the land. We think it is a good plan to make hay whilst the sun shines, as we expect to be ordered off very soon when we shall have to feed on 'Army Rations.'

"The tent works like a charm being perfectly water proof and what with our canvass [sic] flooring cloths, racks and many other little conveniences, we have the credit of having the best quarters in the field."

This was not idle boasting. On July 2 he wrote his father:

"Last evening we had one of the most severe rain storms that I have ever seen. The water rushed through the tents of all those officers who did not have the forethought to trench them, in a perfect torrent. We were more fortunate

having dug a deep trench around our tent thus saving our 'bacon.' ”³⁸

On the day after the arrival of the 2d Regiment in Camp Clark, “Tockwotton” had written: “Both the regiments are now united, and so long as the first remains will form a brigade. This is as we hoped it would be. . . . Brothers as of one family and united in spirit and in object, it is especially pleasant to us to be allowed to share together the pleasures of the camp, the toils of the march and the vicissitudes of battle.”³⁹

On July 8 it was announced that Col. Burnside’s brigade would also include the 2d New Hampshire and the 71st New York. This was good news, for the latter had become friends of the 1st Rhode Island on the march to Annapolis Junction.

*The troops of Rhode Island were posted along
On the road from Annapolis-station,
As the Seventy-first Regiment, one thousand strong,
Went on in defense of the nation.
We’d been marching all day in the sun’s scorching ray,
With two biscuits each as a ration,
When we asked Gov. Sprague to show us the way,
And “How many miles to the Junction?”*

* * *

*The Rhode Island boys cheered us on out of sight,
After giving the following injunction:
“Just keep up your courage—you’ll get there tonight,
For ’t is only nine miles to the Junction.”*⁴⁰

* * *

At nineteen, any Fourth of July is an occasion, but the first one in camp was really notable:

“We commenced the day with a grand review of both Regts. by the Gov. and a great concourse of people. . . . After the review we marched back to our grove where

³⁸ “Tockwotton” wrote the *Press*, July 3: “We have been taught a lesson in respect to the circum-trenching of our tents.” *Press*, July 6, 1861.

³⁹ *Press*, June 29, 1861.

⁴⁰ “Only Nine Miles to the Junction,” H. Millard, Co. A, 71st N. Y., *Songs for the Soldiers*, arranged and edited by Frank Moore (New York, 1864), 71; Woodbury, *First R. I. Regt.*, 23.

upon a platform built upon barrels we heard Dr. Woodbury read the glorious Declaration of Independence. Then we had speeches from Major Ballou⁴¹ and Father Quinn⁴² Who by the way is a very nice man. . . .

"I wish you could have seen the dinner table of the Officers of company D. It was conceded by all to be the best . . . I will give you the bill of fare. A beautiful little Roast Pig nice mashed potatoes Onions Beets, Tomatoes a little Claret and Champagne. Our dessert consisted of a very nice plum pudding and custard pies. You can guess that we are not starving.

"The amusements of the afternoon were completed by the walking upon a tight rope by Prof. Sweet who gave great pleasure to all the spectators and especially to a large crowd of dirty little niggers who had never dreamed of any such feats.⁴³

"The camp was unusually still all day no man being allowed to go into the city for fear of getting drunk."⁴⁴

But the boyishly enthusiastic letter closes on a serious note:

"This morning Col. Slocum had all the commissioned officers assembled in front of the Marquee for instructions

⁴¹ Sullivan Ballou of Smithfield, a lawyer, Clerk of the House of Representatives, 1854-56, Speaker, 1857. Major, June 11, 1861; mortally wounded at Bull Run, July 21, 1861. Bartlett, 249-51.

⁴² Father Thomas Quinn, associate Chaplain, 1st R. I., was highly regarded by all denominations. Chaplain Woodbury said: "Our intercourse was always of the most cordial and friendly nature. It was another evidence of the obliteration of ecclesiastical lines by the influence of patriotism." Woodbury, *First R. I. Regt.*, 44.

Chaplain Jameson wrote the *Press*, "The Reverend gentleman was frequently interrupted by well merited applause and gained for himself from his large and delighted audience, great credit, both for the sentiments and the eloquent delivery of his speech." *Press*, July 9, 1861.

⁴³ William E. Sweet of Coventry, a private, Co. A, June 5, 1861; discharged on Surgeon's certificate, February 23, 1863. "Tockwotton" wrote, "Sweet's performances were popular with the troops. The Professor is an intelligent young man and makes a good soldier." *Press*, July 8, 1861.

⁴⁴ Ames to Father and Mother, Camp Clark, July 6, 1861.

in reference to our march. We are to start off Sunday noon for Virginia probably Fairfax. We expect to have a fight this time after which we will return to our camp. I do not know that I have any right to tell you this but you can burn the letter after you read it.

ps) I will write when I return and give you an account of the proceedings"

The order was countermanded and Ames wrote that all was quiet in camp "except the continual tramp of *armed men* and the sound of drums. It seems to me like a great picnic as I lay on my camp bed under the shade of the large trees in front of our tent. This luxury I enjoy every day after dinner. . . . The Quarters of the Band is very near to ours so that we have music from morn till night. We drill when the heat is not too overpowering. . . ." ⁴⁵

This naïve attitude towards a soldier's life was not peculiar to Lt. Ames; it was general among officers and privates.

As is usual with armies, the mere suggestion of a movement produced great activity among the letter writers. "Tockwotton" wrote:

"Pens, ink and paper were every where in requisition [on Sunday, July 7]. In the tents, in all the wagons, on the boxes, under the trees, on the bare ground, some holding boards for others to write against, every where the work of heads and hands went on. . . . A most glorious illustration of New England intelligence, and I never felt prouder and happier at the thought of our common schools and institutions of learning." ⁴⁶

The regulations of the army required commissioned officers to pay for any extra food, uniforms and servants.

⁴⁵ Ames to Mother, July 8, 1861.

⁴⁶ *Press*, July 11, 1861. Writing materials were always hard to obtain. Postage stamps were very scarce. Ames was fortunate in having Congressman George H. Browne of Gloucester frank envelopes for him and also give him "a dose of the medicine you advised him to put in his water." Ames to Father and Mother, July 6, 1861.

But "pay day" was a variable date with the result that officers were often very hard up. A week after his arrival in camp, Ames had written that he "should like to have half of my pay which is in your hand." And later asked, "If convenient please send that money in small gold." A "Mint of money" arrived promptly but the need passed with the receipt of his pay, \$89.53. "Do n't you think that I can live a month longer on this pretty little sum," he asked his mother.⁴⁷ Ames felt that his job in the army was just the same as any other job and like any other self-respecting young man, he expected to be self-supporting.

At this distance of eighty years camp life of this day seems very luxurious. "Tockwotton" wrote:

"Thanks to the generous attention of the Governor, the Rhode Island Regiments are well supplied, and are quite the envy of the rest of the army. It is quite common to hear the remark—'Oh, yes, you Rhode Islanders have every thing.' Commissary Cole devotes himself to the duties of [the kitchen] most unremittingly. The immense ovens for meats, bread &c, as well as spacious boilers for vegetables, coffee, &c, would I imagine somewhat astonish some of your housekeeping readers. . . ."⁴⁸

The First Rhode Island Detached Militia was called to serve the United States for a three-month period. There was some doubt about the exact date its service began and as July 15 approached the question arose as to when the time was up. "Canonicus" wrote the *Press*, July 15, of the discussion among the men and of their openly avowed desire to go home.

Ames reflects the opinion of the 2d Regiment:

"We are all very desirous to have the 1st Regt go home as the influence over our men is very bad. They are

⁴⁷ Ames to Mother, July 27, 1861. The paymaster was supposed to "pay off" every two months, cf. Fred A. Shannon, *The Organization and Administration of the Union Army* (Cleveland, 1928), I, 244-45.

⁴⁸ *Press*, July 18, 1861.

not bound down by the same strict laws that were [sic] are made to observe. It is allowed by every person here that we beat them in marching and are their equals in everything else. I get along very nicely with my men, and drilling.”⁴⁹

* * *

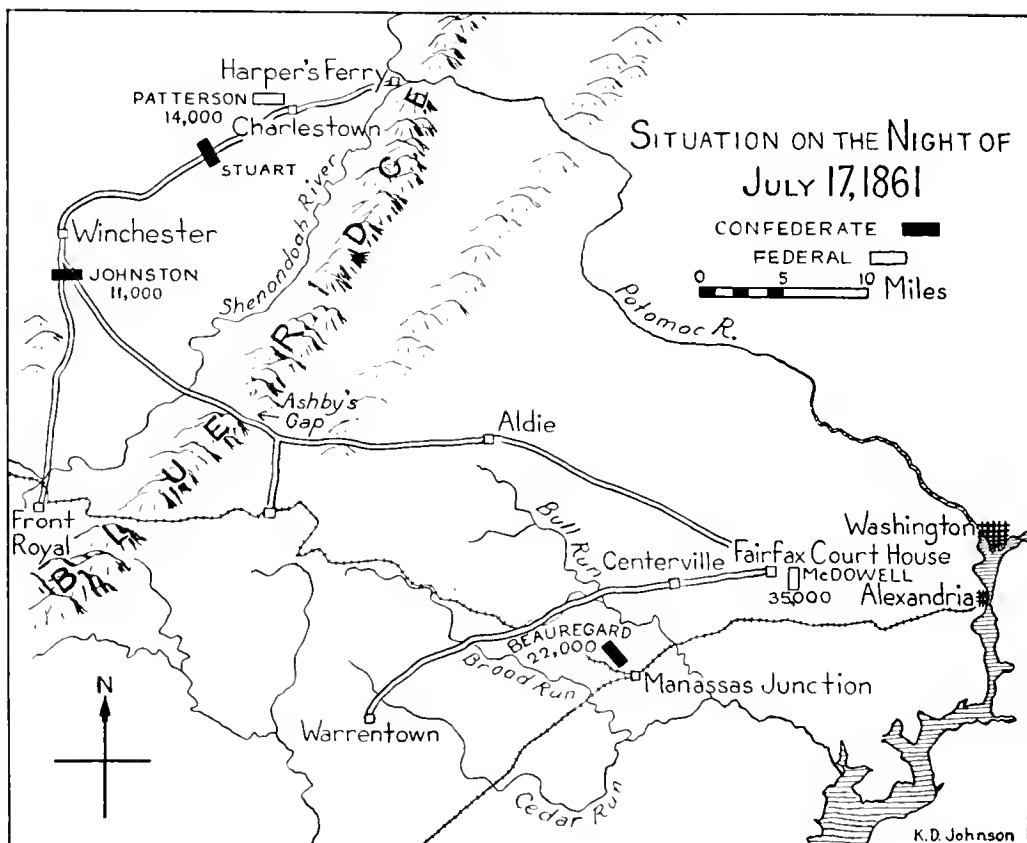
Before proceeding further with the letters dealing with the campaign of Bull Run, it is necessary briefly to review the military situation. Barely thirty miles southwest from Washington, Gen. Beauregard with about 24,000⁵⁰ men was centered on Manassas Junction at the intersection of the Manassas Gap and the Orange & Alexandria railroads. Gen. Robert E. Lee had decided that it was strategically important to the Confederates to hold the Junction if they could, because it controlled the two most likely lines of advance from Washington—the one from Alexandria and the other from Centreville—and because the line of the Manassas Gap R. R. to the west could be used by the Confederate forces under Gen. Johnston to reinforce Gen. Beauregard. While Manassas Junction is on an open plateau and hard to defend, the winding stream of Bull Run—though in places “nothing more than a glorified ditch”—in the 14 miles from its confluence with the Occoquan at Union Mills Ford on the east to Sudley Springs on the west “more than covered any probable crossing of an army advancing from Washington along routes just indicated.”⁵¹

About 60 miles to the west of Washington Gen. Robert Patterson—a veteran of the War of 1812—with about 14,000 men occupied Harper’s Ferry on the Potomac

⁴⁹ Ames to Father, July 14, 1861.

⁵⁰ All estimates of the numbers of men engaged are taken from R. M. Johnston’s *Bull Run, Its Strategy and Tactics* (Boston, 1913), 90-113, hereinafter cited as Johnston. This is an excellent study and indispensable to a non-military writer like your editor.

⁵¹ Johnston, 31-38.



river from which Gen. Joseph E. Johnston — who had succeeded Col. Thomas J. Jackson — had withdrawn on June 15 to near Winchester in the Shenandoah Valley. Patterson's timidity had prevented him from carrying out the pursuit planned by the veteran commander-in-chief, Gen. Winfield Scott,⁵² and the regiments near Washington had made no moves. Most of the three-month regiments were two months old; something had to be done before their time was up. The *New York Tribune* led the popular clamor with the war-cry, "On to Richmond" and the battle of Bull Run was the result. "The different regiments met for the first time as a brigade, on the afternoon of Tuesday, July 16th, when they formed on Pennsylvania Avenue, and immediately marched down to and across Long

⁵² Scott was 75 years old. "What with age, dropsy, vertigo, and old bullets to carry, he could no longer mount a horse." Sandburg, I, 29.

Bridge into Virginia.”⁵³ Also, the enemy was well informed through the press and by many sympathizers of all the Federal plans. “But the country, not appreciating the difficulties . . . , demanded a forward movement . . . ,” wrote Woodbury. “It was both too early and too late; too early for perfect discipline of the troops — too late for surprise.”⁵⁴

Irving McDowell,⁵⁵ but recently advanced from major to brigadier-general, was in command of the department of Northeastern Virginia. In collaboration with Gen. Scott he worked out a plan to advance in three columns via Vienna, Fairfax Court House and the Orange and Alexandria R. R. to turn Beauregard’s position “so as to cut off communications by rail with the South, or threaten to do so sufficiently to force the enemy to leave his entrenchments to guard them.”

In accordance with this plan McDowell moved on Tuesday, July 16, and the *Providence Evening Press* of the next day carried a telegraphic dispatch from Washington: “The Rhode Island Regiments, 71st New York, 2d New Hampshire and the Marines marched over Long Bridge at 3 o’clock today, their several bands playing ‘Dixie.’ Col. Burnside rode by the side of his Rhode Island regiments, literally loaded down with bouquets.”

Led by the Second Rhode Island, by the express desire of Col. Slocum,⁵⁶ the column marched some twelve miles and bivouacked on the ground that night at Annandale. The next day the Second Division moved into Fairfax Court House and on the 18th to Germantown. Ames’ pencilled letter addressed to both his father and mother reflects the excitement of a youth seeing action for the first time.

⁵³ Woodbury, 28. For a critique of “Staff and Command” see Johnston, 100-103.

⁵⁴ Woodbury, *First R. I. Regt.*, 72.

⁵⁵ For an opinion of McDowell’s ability see Johnston, 19-21, and James B. Fry, *McDowell and Tyler* (New York, 1884), hereinafter cited as Fry.

⁵⁶ Woodbury, 28; *Press*, July 18, 1861.

Capt. Steere wishes Father if he happens to see Old Enoch S to tell him he is well and all right.

July 20/61

Between Germantown & Centreville

To my Dear Father & Mother

I have not been able to write for some time on account of the hurry attendant upon our march into Va. We had a long march of twenty-three miles over very dusty roads. The heat was intense, and with forty pounds to carry made it very wearisome. You have no doubt heard of our capture of Fairfax. There was about ten thousand rebels in possession of the town when we came up. But with their usual courage they fled like chaff before a whirlwind. The 2d Reg led the Brigade and was the first in. Co D were employed as scouts all the way keeping about a mile to the right of the Column in thick woods all the way.⁵⁷ It was one of the most ludicrous sights that I have ever seen to see the confusion in which they left their equipments and a great part of their property. The men in our Co got a great deal of plunder. The houses and shops of the Secessionists were broken open and given up to be plundered by the soldiers. Which was done to order. Most everyone has some relic of the sacking of Fairfax.⁵⁸ What gave the men the most satisfaction was that the camp property plundered by them

⁵⁷ "Tockwotton" wrote July 19: "The men must make their way over fences, walls, ditches, &c also through entangled forest and soon become very weary." *Press*, July 23, 1861.

⁵⁸ "I am happy to be able to say," wrote "Tockwotton," "that I was not able to trace any excesses to the members of the 2d R. I." And a private letter, dated Fairfax Court House July 17, from an unnamed officer in Co. C which was printed in the *Journal*, July 20, read: "Some of our troops [in other brigades] have helped themselves to everything portable. There is an old law and order feeling among us, which respects even the rights of an enemy. . . . I am sorry for any trespass, which brings reproach to our army without discrimination of parties." *Journal*, July 20, 1861.

belonged to the famous Palmetto and Brooks Guards of Charleston, S. C.⁵⁹ who are considered the flower of chivalry in the South. I have got a body belt belonging to one of the Palmetto Guards with a large Palmetto tree on the plate marked 1776, I also got a powder flask lots of ammunition One of our men got a nice watch in one of the knapsacks. It is very funny to see the little niggers who followed our camp from Washington each with a new suit of cloths [sic] and a knapsack upon their back marked Palmetto Guards. Such was their haste in flying that they threw away their blankets that were upon their backs and even the coats on their backs. We brought no tents with us each man taking only what he could carry on his back. Last night we slept in an open plain the starry heavens for our roof About two in the morning it commenced raining you can imagine the comfort in such a situation of a soldiers life. After staying all night in Fairfax we marched to Germantown famous in the Revolution⁶⁰ We expect soon to march upon Manassas and give them a thrashing if we can find them anywhere. Prisoners are being brought in every day and the [sic] all have a very miserable appearance This morning just below the camp of the New York Reg three Secessionists who had been captured and had taken the oath were recaptured and having broken the oath were hung by the authoritys [sic]

⁵⁹ A telegraphic dispatch to the *Press* printed on the front page—the first Rhode Island newspaper to put the war on page one—“Numerous trophies were brought to Washington this afternoon including the Commissariat tent of the 3rd South Carolina regiment, guns, coats, hats, and Palmetto buttons, the latter manufactured in New York.” *Press*, July 19, 1861.

“To judge from the uniforms about the camp, we would seem to have many of the Palmetto Guard and other crack secession regiments in our midst,” wrote “DeWitt.” *Journal*, July 22, 1861.

⁶⁰ Ames is mistaken. Germantown which was famous in the Revolution is in Pennsylvania.

I had the opportunity of seeing the process for the first time

Give my love to all

Your affec son

W^m Ames

This was written upon a Va fence rail of the roughest sort

I will write as soon as I can

I am very well indeed

You will find an envelope enclosed it was taken from the knapsack by your humble servant of one of the Palmetto Guards at Fairfax

Please keep the envelope

At the time he was writing his parents Ames did not know that Gen. McDowell had made up his mind to attack and had issued orders to begin the advance at 2 A. M., Sunday July 21, 1861.

(To be continued)

Additional Notes on the Origin of the Artistic Motives of the Design of the Ensign

BY HOWARD M. CHAPIN

The motive of the stripes in the United States flag (in the stars and stripes of 1777) was derived* from the stripes in the so-called Grand Union flag which was first adopted as the *Ensign* of the United Continental Colonies in America in December 1775.

The earlier English *ensigns* of the time of Elizabeth were striped and the ensign with the plain red field did not

* *Providence Sunday Journal*, June 9, 1929, page entitled "Rhode Island's Part in the U. S. Flag," subsequently reprinted as the origin of "The Artistic Motives in the United States Flag."

come into use until later, probably the time¹ of James I.

The East India Company flag and ensign² of 1701 had thirteen red and white horizontal stripes.³

During the reign of Elizabeth, the English ensigns often had striped fields.⁴ Perrin, plate ix, illustrates six of these.

W. G. Perrin, the careful and scholarly student of flags, states in his "British Flags" 1922 that the ensign came⁵ into use about 1574. He doubtless meant as one of the suit of flags,⁶ usually flown by ships.

The reason for the adoption of stripes in the design of the early English Ensigns of the time of Elizabeth is not known. Owing to the meagerness of the records of that period it may not be able to be determined with certainty whether the adoption of the stripes was the accidental result of some naval exigency or whether it harks back to the livery colors of heraldry.⁷

At present, contemporary pictures give us our only clues.

In "Sequitur celebritas et pompa funeris" (of Sir Philip Sidney) by Thomas Lant printed in London in 1587 "The

¹ W. G. Perrin's "British Flags," 115.

² Perrin, 130.

³ John Beaumont's "The Present State of the Universe," edition of 1701 shows thirteen stripes. Cf. Perrin, 130.

⁴ Perrin, 115 and notes. An Ensign supplied by James Wharton of Philadelphia Dec. 22, 1775 to the Committee of Congress (which was fitting out the Continental Navy) was a Union flag with 13 green and red stripes. *Pub. of Col. Soc. of Mass.*, 32, p. 523. At that period Union flag meant with a union of the crosses in the canton, not what Union flag means now.

⁵ Perrin, p. 115.

⁶ However in his frontispiece he shows an English ship of about 1545 flying an Ensign—which is an heraldic banner. This may be considered properly merely a decoration for a special occasion. This ship has three other similar staffs erected at random amidship and a jack staff, years before the jack as such came into use as one the usual "suit of colors" of a ship. These flags are all heraldic in character and origin. The flag at the foretopmast head is similar in design to the one on the ensign staff.

⁷ "The Artistic Motives in the United States Flag" by H. M. Chapin, 1930.

Black Pynnes" which brought home Sidney's body from the Low Countries is shown flying a striped ensign⁸ on the ensign staff and a similar striped flag at the mizzen top mast head. These flags do not contain the canton with the cross.⁹

The fact that the Black Pynnes which was in fact a maritime catafalque, is decorated with the arms of Sir Philip Sydney and those of his ancestors indicate that the person who had charge of its decoration was acquainted with heraldry. In this case the striped flag would doubtless be of the livery colors of Sir Philip Sidney. The livery colors would of course be "insignia" of Sir Philip and the word ensign is clearly derived from the word insignia.

The word "colours" was only applied specifically to the ensign in the Eighteenth, Seventeenth and Sixteenth centuries.

Barrett¹⁰ in the theory and Practike of Modern Warres, 1698 says "We Englishmen do call (Ensigns) of late colours by reason of the variety of colours they be made of, whereby they may be the better noted and known to the company." Barrett is speaking of military ensigns rather than maritime ensigns, but it seems probable that the reason he gives for ensigns being called colours is merely his own guess or opinion and not the result of historical or antiquarian research. It seems extremely probable from the decoration of the Black Pynnes that the reason that the Ensigns (insignia) were called colours was because they were the "livery colours" (i. e. insignia) of the owner of the ship, or in the case of Sir Philip, with the livery colors of the decedent.

Thus the origin of the design of the stripes would seem to hark back very definitely to heraldry.

There is another sixteenth century picture of great

⁸ Illustrated in Chatterton's Sailing Ships, fig. 54.

⁹ Hence similar to the ensigns presumably used by the American Colonies between July 4, 1776 and June 14, 1777. See *Nat. Geo. Mag.*, Oct. 1917, flag 404.

¹⁰ Perrin, 6.

importance to this study. It is the illustration of Sir Francis Drake's ship in Thomas Greepes biography of Sir Francis Drake, printed in 1587. On the ensign staff is the ensign which is an heraldic banner, thus tying the maritime ensign still closer to heraldry. It is the quartered coat of Howand, Brotherton, Warren and Mawbray, with over all a mullet for difference. These were the arms of Charles, Lord Howard, Baron Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral of England and later Earl of Nottingham. This boat was doubtless the galleon^{10a} "White Lion" (named from the supporters in Lord Howard's arms). Lord Howard contributed this vessel to the expedition, which carried the armorial banner of its owner on its ensign staff.

While we have not as yet enough data to establish conclusively the development of the ensign in the time of Elizabeth, we do now know enough to have a general idea of what must have taken place.

Perrin¹¹ tells us that the ensign came into use about 1574. He adds in a footnote "In the earlier ensigns toward the end of Elizabeth's reign¹² the stripes were sometimes diagonal and different designs appear to have been used to distinguish individual ships much as ensigns were used to distinguish regiments on shore.

It seems probable that the first stage in the development of the ensign was when the armorial insignia of the owner was used as in the case of Lord Howard's galleon.

The second stage would seem to be the ensign striped with the livery colors as the insignia instead being the heraldic banner. This we see in the case of Sidney's Black Pinnace.

The fact that these two stages are illustrated in books printed in 1587 does not militate against this theory because in the first place the two different fundamental forms doubtless existed in use contemporaneously for some time, for such changes develop slowly and in the second place

^{10a} Benson, E. F. "Sir Francis Drake," pp. 208-209.

¹¹ P. 115.

¹² She died in 1603.

the book relating to Sidney was dealing with the preceding year and the book dealing with Drake was dealing with several years earlier for the most part. Taking into account human inaccuracies, this of course would not prove the sequence but as certainly it would not disprove it.

The reason for the change from the heraldic banner to the ensign with stripes (presumably the livery colours) was probably due primarily to the question of visibility.

Flying in a light breeze, or hanging limp in a calm the design of an armorial banner used as an ensign becomes practically indistinguishable. A series of stripes can be identified.

On shore for reasons of visibility or distinguishability a colonel usually placed a motive from his arms on the regimental ensign instead of his arms or instead of using his armorial banner (such as those hung in St. George's Chapel, Windsor castle).

The striped Ensign did not give a clue to the nationality of the boat. Sometimes the red cross of St. George (the recognized emblem of England) was surcharged over the whole flag. Such a flag or ensign is shown by Perrin, Plate ix, No. 5.^{12a}

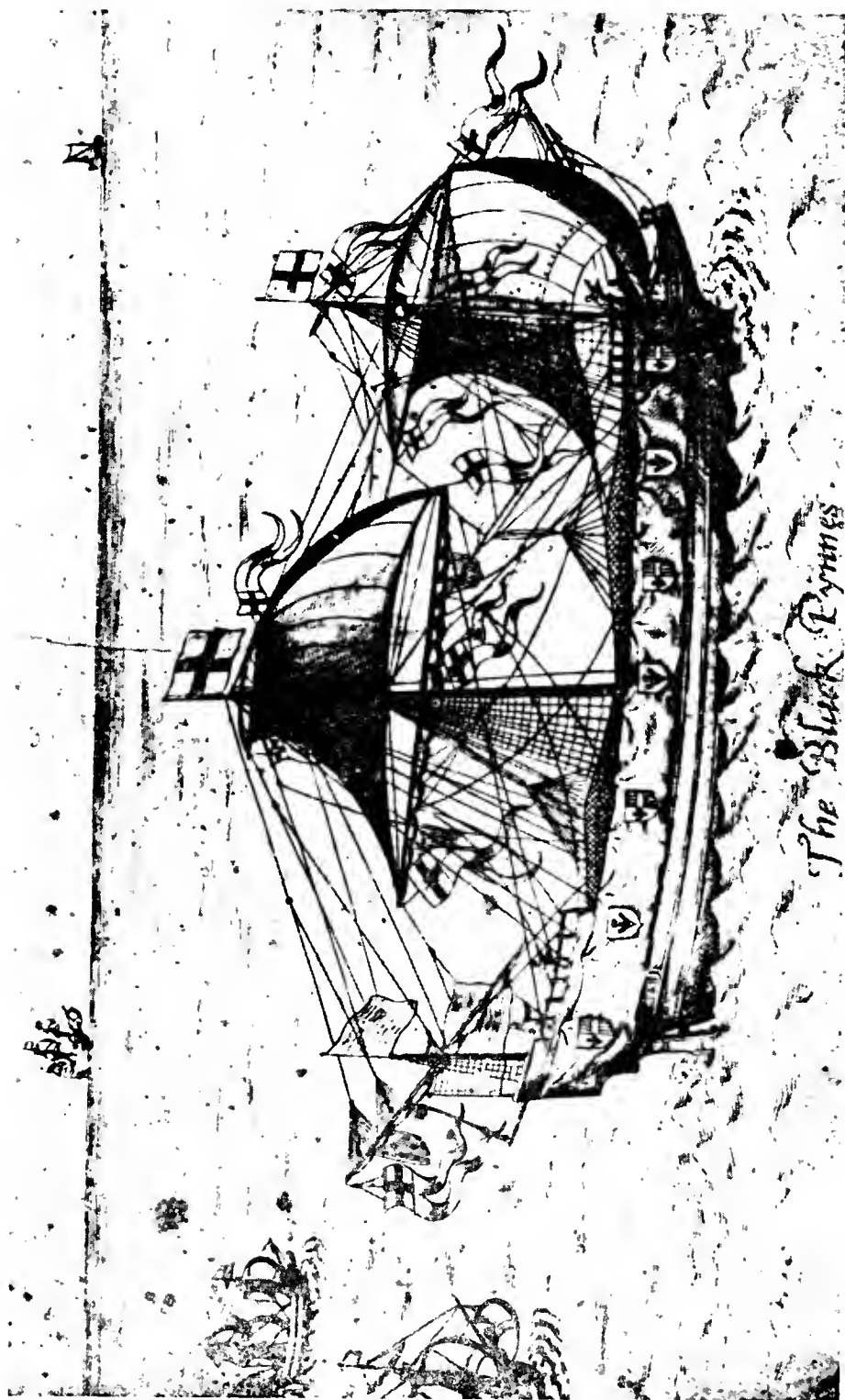
It was probably tried at this period to place the red cross in the head of the ensign as it was carried in the pendants, but the difference in shapes would make the cross too elongated and doubtless also too hard to see. A flag of this type¹³ was drawn for the King of France and called the flag of the English people. Yet as it appears in no contemporary English book, it was probably merely the result of the imagination of some French herald.

By using only the upper part of the head of the Ensign, the canton was obtained and was very satisfactory as over 300 years of use prove.

The Ensign with the canton (the head charged with the cross) would seem to be the third stage in its development. Perrin plate ix shows several of these of the time of Elizabeth and of James I. Five with striped field and three with single color fields, the latter of the time of James I.

^{12a} Plate ix, No. 5.

¹³ Desjardins, p. 34.



The Black Pyrites

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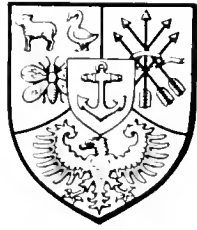
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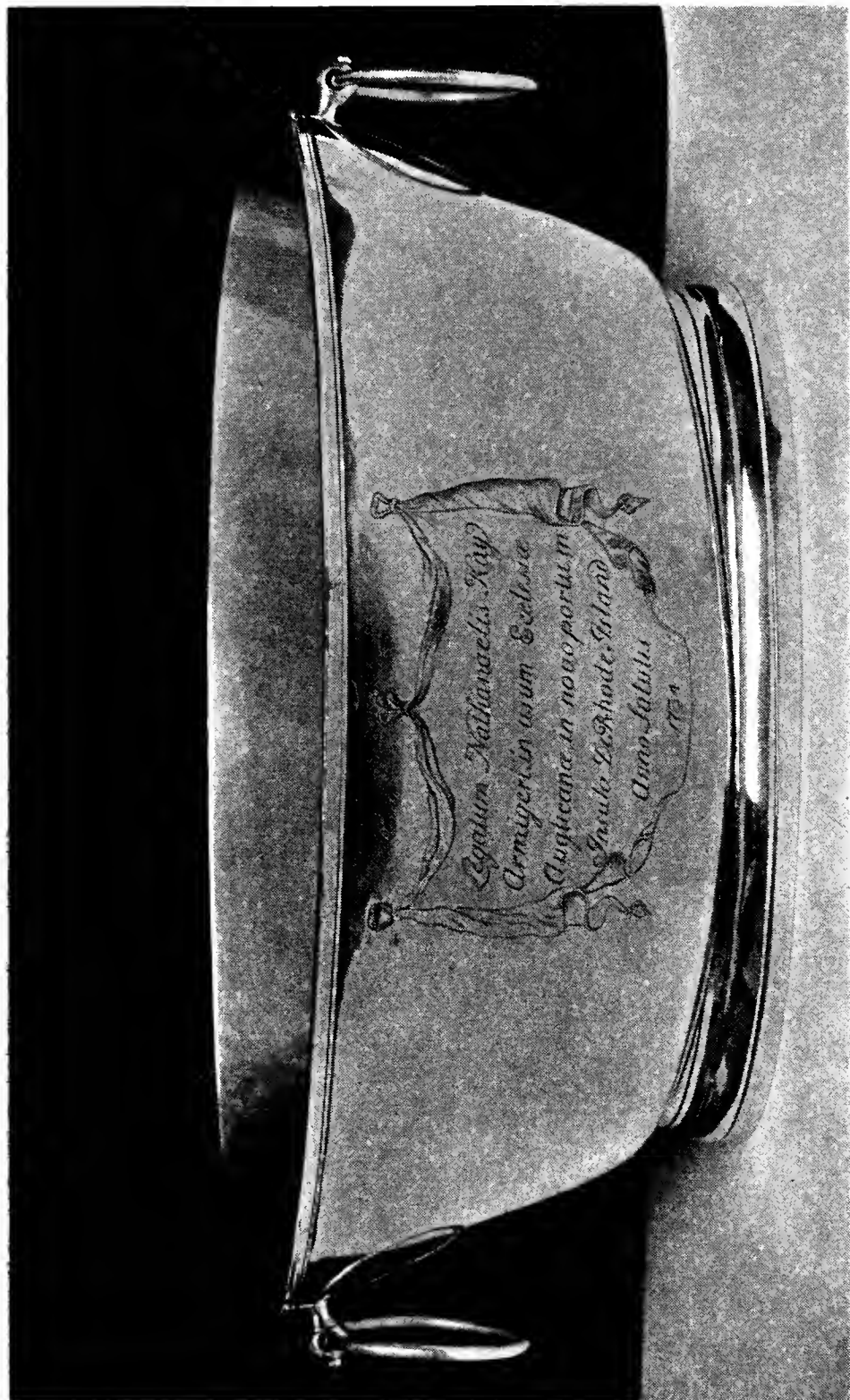
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The Kay Bequest

WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER

One of the outstanding displays of the recent exhibition held at the Rhode Island School of Design in celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Episcopal Church in the State of Rhode Island¹, November 18, 1940, was the silver of the "Kay Bequest," and it was of further interest in view of the fact that it is the only recorded time that these fine pieces have been shown together.

In the year 1702 Nathaniel Kay was sent to the Colony of Rhode Island by Queen Anne to hold the office of Collector of Customs. He was a man of considerable wealth and his house at the head of Touro Street in Newport was reputed to have been "one of the most spacious and elegant private dwellings in the town." During his life time he was ever a generous supporter of the Church of England and its missionaries sent out by the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. As early as 1713 he was a member of the vestry of Trinity Church, to which he not only gave of his time and interest but also of his wealth. However, it was not only to Trinity Church that he expressed his generosity. He was deeply interested in the



BAPTISMAL BASIN MADE FOR TRINITY CHURCH, NEWPORT, BY DANIEL RUSSELL, (1734)

advancement of the Anglican Church in the Colony and its three other churches, St. Paul's in Narragansett, St. Michael's in Bristol, and King's—now St. John's—in Providence. To St. Michael's, for instance, he gave a bell which, it is said, could be heard in Pawtuxet across the Bay.

The first mention of a gift of silver is found in the records of Trinity Church under the date of May 14, 1733, "Voted: that Captain Richard Perkin's legacy to the Church be appropriated for the purchase of a flagon for the communion table. Nathaniel Kay, Esq. agreed to purchase another of the same value." This flagon made by the Newport silversmith, Benjamin Brenton (1695-1749) bears the following inscription:

AN OBLATION FROM NATHANIEL KAY A PUBLICAN FOR THE USE OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN RHODE ISLAND
1733 LUX PERPETUA CREDENTIBUS SOLA.

The following year Nathaniel Kay died and by his will left provisions for silver not only for Trinity Church but also for the three other Anglican Churches in the Colony.

From the avails of this bequest there was made for Trinity a magnificent baptismal basin by Daniel Russell (worked from 1734-50) of Newport which bore the inscription:

LEGATUM NATHANAEIS KAY ARMIGERI, IN
USUM ECCLESIAE ANGLICANAE, IN NOVO PORTU,
IN INSULA DE RHODE ISLAND ANNO SALUTIS
1734.

Trinity Church also received a chalice made by Joseph Russell (1702-80) of Bristol.

To St. Michael's in Bristol came two flagons, one by Benjamin Brenton and the other by Joseph Russell and a paten by Edward Winslow of Boston (1669-1753). In this connection it may seem remarkable that a Boston silversmith was employed under the Kay bequest, especially when there were such excellent craftsmen in Newport. However, it must be born in mind that until 1746 Bristol lay within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Joseph Russell may also be claimed by that colony since he made the first seal for

Bristol County for which he received four pounds, ten shillings in 1747. The design for all these flagons was apparently established by the one made for Trinity Church from the bequest of Richard Perkin — which, by the way, bears no maker's mark — and from its companion given by Kay in 1733. Each flagon bears an engraved inscription surrounded by a decorative cartouche and the other pieces are engraved in a similar manner.

Of this fine silver unquestionably the finest is the magnificent baptismal basin made by Daniel Russell for Trinity Church and which is illustrated on page 2. It appears to be unique in the records of examples of colonial silver.

It is therefore not to be wondered at that the bringing together of these remarkable pieces of silver was not only an outstanding event to the students of the craft of the colonial silversmiths but was also an evidence of the superior skill achieved by those who worked in the Colony of Rhode Island.

¹ The first General Convention of the Episcopal Church of Rhode Island met at Newport, November 18, 1790. Following a sermon by Rev. William Smith (1753-1821), M. A. Aberdeen, rector of Trinity Church, the Convention approved the revised Book of Common Prayer and declared Samuel Seabury Bishop of the Church in Rhode Island.

Bishop Seabury (1729-1796), who had been chosen Episcopal Bishop of Connecticut (1789) presided over both dioceses until his death. A graduate of Yale (1748), he was ordained deacon and priest in London (1753) and sent to New Brunswick, N. J., by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Chosen by the clergy of Connecticut as a suitable candidate for Episcopal consecration, Seabury sailed for London (1783). The authorities of the Church of England believed themselves debarred on legal ground from performing the rite and Seabury proceeded to Aberdeen where he was consecrated by the non-juring Scottish prelates. Returning to this country he landed at Newport (1785) and shortly afterwards he became rector of St. James' Church, New London.

For an interesting article on the Episcopal Diocese of Providence see "The Episcopal Diocese. — 150 Years," *Providence Sunday Journal*, November 10, 1940.

A scrap book illustration of the exhibit of church treasures has been donated to this society.

Civil War Letters of William Ames

FROM BROWN UNIVERSITY TO BULL RUN

Edited by WILLIAM GREENE ROELKER

(Continued from Vol. XXXIII, page 96)

In the opinion of R. M. Johnston, Gen. McDowell left Washington "with a fixed plan. He intended no frontal attack, but to outflank the enemy; and that the flanking movement was to be towards the south, his left."⁶¹

But handicapped by the lack of maps and experienced officers McDowell was uncertain, and before advancing from Centreville he decided to explore the country for himself. By the afternoon of July 18 he had made up his mind that an advance on the left was impracticable.⁶² Almost at the same time he learned that Gen. Tyler had been engaged along Bull Run.

This badly managed affair, known as "the skirmish at Blackburn's Ford," was reported by "DeWitt" to the *Journal*: "Gen. Tyler's division had suddenly come upon a masked battery"⁶³ which poured in a destructive fire of shot and shell, causing our men to retire."⁶⁴

⁶¹ *Bull Run, Its Strategy and Tactics*, 123; Robert M. Johnston (1867-1920), M.A., Pembroke College, Cambridge; Assistant Professor of History, Harvard University 1908-1919; Major, U. S. Army attached to the General Staff, A. E. F., 1919-20; Professor of Modern History, Harvard University, 1920.

⁶² Johnston, 126, 137; Fry, 39. William H. Russell, correspondent of the *London Times* wrote: "It would scarcely be credited, were I not told it by General McDowell, that there is no such thing procurable as a decent map of Virginia. He knows little or nothing of the country before him, more than the general direction of the main roads, . . . and he can obtain no information, inasmuch as the enemy are in full force and he has not a cavalry officer capable of conducting a reconnaissance." *My Diary, North and South* (London, 1863), II, 147.

⁶³ Fry wrote: "The troops began to advance from the Potomac with a dread of being sent against 'masked batteries.' They felt that their fears

"The consequences of that defeat were serious," wrote Capt. James B. Fry, McDowell's Adjutant General. The depressing effect of the shock was not confined to the troops engaged; "the whole army felt it." But Lt. Ames does not mention it, though the demoralization was so widespread that the 4th Pennsylvania Infantry and the 8th New York Militia Battery, their terms having expired, "moved to the rear to the sound of the enemy's cannon,"⁶⁵ as the battle of Sunday was about to begin.

At the very moment when Tyler's guns were "already booming along the banks of Bull Run,"⁶⁶ Gen. Johnston was marching out of Winchester, fifty-seven miles away, to reinforce Beauregard who, he had been informed, was being attacked by McDowell. Led by Jackson's brigade, the column marched through Ashby's Gap to Piedmont. Hurrying forward the artillery and Col. J. E. B. Stuart's cavalry by forced marches and moving the infantry by the Manassas Gap Railroad, Gen. Johnston arrived in time to be able to exert the full strength of his force at the crucial moment of the battle on Sunday, July 21.⁶⁷

Yet in making his plans McDowell had persistently left out of account the possibility of Gen. Johnston's reinforcing Beauregard. He even ignored the information sent him by Gen. Tyler, an experienced railroad man, that the sound of locomotives on the night of July 19 indicated that troops were arriving at Manassas Junction.

were now realized; and they were so in fact, for they had been sent against 'masked batteries.' " Fry, 35.

⁶⁴ *Journal*, July 22, 1861; Johnston, 130-35; Fry, 21-36; G. F. R. Henderson, *Stonewall Jackson* (London, 1900), I, 139, hereinafter cited as Henderson.

⁶⁵ *Official Records*, II, 324, McDowell's Report. See also, Woodbury, *First R. I. Regt.*, 85-87; Russell, II, 197-99, 217-18.

⁶⁶ Johnston, 79-80, 151.

⁶⁷ Johnston, 150-63; Henderson, 132-34; John G. Barnard, *The C. S. A. and the Battle of Bull Run* (New York, 1862), 105, hereinafter cited as Barnard, contains several maps, the best of which appears to be the one by Lt. Henry L. Abbot, March 14, 1862, from *Official Records*, Atlas, I, plate V, 7.

Also, he clung closely to the idea that a frontal attack was hopeless and that, if a flank attack to the left was impossible, he must make one to the right, no matter what the risk. Therefore, on the morning of July 19, Major John G. Barnard and Capt. Woodbury of the Engineers, accompanied by "the ubiquitous Governor Sprague," made a reconnaissance to find a road connecting the Warrenton turnpike with the ford at Sudley Springs in order to make it possible to turn the Confederates' key position at Stone Bridge. As McDowell could not make a reconnaissance in force without giving away his plans the information obtained was slight, and two days were wasted. But hearing a rumor that Gen. Johnston had reached Manassas, he decided to delay no longer and called the commanders together to explain his plans for an advance on Sunday, July 21, 1861.⁶⁸

Execution of the flanking movement called for a threat to the Confederate position at Stone Bridge. Therefore McDowell ordered Tyler to move "at 2.30 A. M. precisely" on the Warrenton turnpike but not to open fire "until full daybreak." Hunter's Second Division—including Burnside's Brigade—was ordered to turn right on the wood road from the turnpike and pass Bull Run "above the lower ford at Sudley Springs, and then, turning down to the left descend the stream and clear away the enemy who may be guarding the lower ford and bridge." Heintzelman's Third Division was ordered to follow Hunter and to "cross at the lower ford, after it has been turned. . . ."⁶⁹ But Tyler was very slow in getting underway and it was not until 6 A. M. that Hunter turned off the turnpike; "and that was the hour at which the commander-in-chief hoped to have his whole force at Sudley Springs."⁷⁰ "Two hours or more were then lost," complained Woodbury, "enough to decide the fate of the day."

⁶⁸ Johnston, 139-48; Fry, 39-41; Henderson, I, 140.

⁶⁹ McDowell's General Orders No. 22, July 20, 1861, quoted by Johnston, 144-45; Fry, 44-45.

⁷⁰ Johnston, 165.

Hunter's column was led by twenty-five axemen of the 2d New Hampshire, followed by the 2d Rhode Island and its Battery, the 2d New Hampshire and the 71st New York. "What wearisome work in clearing away the fallen trees, which . . . obstructed the path! . . . The artillery could be moved but with difficulty. Col. Hunter, who was lame, proceeded in a carriage. Other vehicles were along, with civilians, who wished to see the battle."

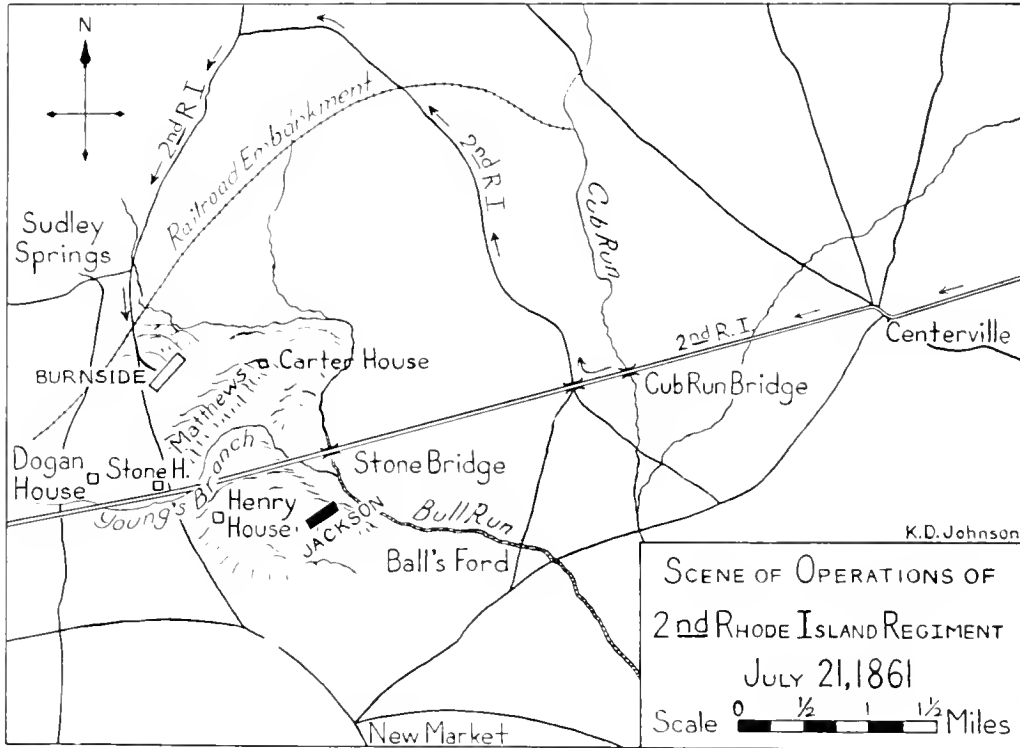
About 9 A. M. the column emerged into the open near the Sudley Church. A mile further on it crossed the ford where horses and men paused to drink. Just then McDowell and staff rode up in haste saying to Burnside: "The enemy is moving heavy columns from Manassas." Col. Hunter, with Col. Slocum and the 2d Rhode Island hurried forward around a wooded bluff and came out upon an open plateau "near an old railroad embankment, one half mile west of Bull Run"⁷¹ where they were met by a heavy volley.

Hunter pushed the 2d Rhode Island up to a position diagonally across the road, with the 2d Battery in front of it.⁷² For about half an hour they bore the brunt of the fire from the Matthews Hill without any support. When Hunter was wounded, Burnside took command and continued the work of getting his brigade engaged.⁷³

⁷¹ Interesting contemporary accounts by Henry A. DeWitt, Engineer, 1st R. I., signing himself "DeWitt," in *Journal*, July 25, 1861, and by an anonymous writer from the 2d Battery, *Journal*, July 31, 1861. Other quotations are from Woodbury, 31-35; *First R. I. Regt.*, 87-93.

⁷² "The battery was now considerably in advance of the infantry and could easily have been captured and taken from the field by the enemy, before the supporting infantry were formed in line of battle; and two years later under the same circumstances would have been lost." J. Albert Monroe, "The Rhode Island Artillery at the First Battle of Bull Run," *Personal Narratives of the Rebellion*, No. 2 (Providence, 1878), 14, hereinafter cited as Monroe. Although Johnston refers to Monroe (p. 187) he ignores the above statement when he places the battery in the rear of the Second Rhode Island in his diagram on page 188.

⁷³ For contemporary accounts see "Tockwotton" in the *Press*, July 25, 1861; Lt. John P. Shaw, Co. F, 2d R. I., in the *Journal*, July 27, 1861;



The "difficult wood road" to Sudley Springs turns to the right off the Warrenton turnpike about half a mile beyond the bridge over Cub Run, runs about four miles northwards and then turns southwest for about two miles to Sudley Ford. Beyond Bull Run, on the right of the road there is open farm land; on the left, the country is thickly wooded for a short distance and then opens out into fenced fields sloping gradually up to the Matthews Hill which is separated from the Henry House Hill by the wide depression through which flows Young's Branch. An "Unfinished" or "Abandoned" Railroad Embankment⁷⁴ crosses the Sudley-New Market road about three-quarters of a mile northwest of the Matthews Hill.

H. J. Raymond's dispatch to the *New York Times* reprinted, *Journal*, July 24, 1861. Johnston covers the Federal side, 187-92, and the Confederate, 195-97. For an interesting account written many years later by a corporal in Ames' Co. D, see Elisha H. Rhodes, "The First Campaign of the Second Rhode Island Infantry," *Personal Narratives of the Rebellion* (Providence, 1878), 17-21, hereinafter cited as Rhodes. He rose to be Capt. Co. D, May 5, 1864. Bartlett, 333-38. See also, Woodbury, *First R. I. Regt.*, 93-101.

⁷⁴ It is variously described by contemporaries. "An abandoned railroad track, passing through this field, made a respectable entrenchment." Woodbury, *First R. I. Regt.*, 95.

The Confederate forces on the Matthews Hill were the Second Brigade, under the command of Gen. Nathan G. Evans. When Gen. Tyler attacked at daybreak Evans was near Stone Bridge. But quickly finding that the attack was being "feebly pressed" and shortly afterwards seeing a cloud of heavy dust rising above the woods to the north of the Warrenton turnpike his soldierly instinct told him that the movement on his front was only a feint and that McDowell's real attack would be on the flank. He therefore rapidly moved his force to the left across the path of the turning column and occupied the Matthews Hill from which he poured a heavy fire into Burnside's brigade. But soon Porter's and Franklin's divisions came into action on Burnside's right, near the Dogan House, Griffin's and Ricketts' batteries delivered a very effective fire and the Confederates began to withdraw from the Matthews Hill across Young's Branch to the Henry House Hill.

It was between 11:30 and 12 noon when Major Sykes, with two battalions of regulars and a battalion of Marines, and Col. William Tecumseh Sherman's brigade relieved Burnside, all of whose regiments — except the 2d New Hampshire — were then "drawn off into the field in the rear. . . ." "Our own brigade," wrote Woodbury, "retired in complete order and stacked arms, to receive its ammunition and rest awhile, expecting to resume the battle at a later period."⁷⁵

Lt. Ames wrote home twice after Bull Run: a hasty scrawl on his arrival back at Camp Clark; and a more detailed account after he had discussed the eventful day with his comrades.

Camp Clark July 22/61

To my Dear Father & Mother

Through Gods mercy and His protection I have been permitted to return from perhaps one of the

⁷⁵ Woodbury, *First R. I. Regt.*, 101; William T. Sherman, *Memoirs* (New York, 1875), I, 183, hereinafter cited as Sherman.

most savage cruel and bloody battles ever fought in this our nationland. You would no doubt like to hear an account of the battle from an eye witness.

We left our camp ground five miles from Fairfax at about two O'clock Sunday morning. After marching about fifteen miles through thick woods we arrived at Bull's Run. Co D at the time was leading off the Brigade.⁷⁶

As we passed up a slight elevation in the ground bordered on one hand by thick woods, and on the other by an open plain & just as we had passed the top of the hill, a perfect shower of bullets rattled around our heads.

The order was given to fall upon the enemy by our gallant little Col.—now no more. Our men gave a fierce, loud, shout and sprang up the hill to close in the deadly encounter. The rebels fell back and poured a very severe volley into our ranks. The 2d Reg received the chief part of the attack for over twenty minutes. Then we were supported by the other Regts in our rear.

When our battery commenced playing upon them it cut through their ranks like a scythe through grass. The U S Marines made a gallant charge upon the rebels doing great mischief to their ranks⁷⁷ The air seemed full of bullets shot and shell. I shall never so long as I live be able to forget that bloody day. . . .

I tried to do my duty to the best of my ability and I think others will say the same of me. Our Co is pretty well cut up having lost quite a number.⁷⁸ The

⁷⁶ Co. D was his own Company; Capt. W. H. P. Steere, 1st Lt. Edward H. Sears, 2d Lt. William Ames.

⁷⁷ A battalion of Marines was with the United States Infantry under Major Sykes who came "upon the field at a double-quick, and with a ringing cheer, charged down to the left and relieved the Second Regiment." Woodbury, 35.

⁷⁸ "The Regiment—both infantry and artillery—lost in this battle and on the retreat, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 104 officers and men." Woodbury, 38.

Rebels loss was severe also The battle lasted about three hours when getting out of ammunition we were obliged to retreat. I will write again soon. Just at present I am prostrated by the great excitement of the battle and the fatigue caused by a march of sixty miles within thirty hours.⁷⁹

Your affec son

W^m Ames

The second letter, written four days later:

Camp Clark July 27/61

To My Dear Father

I received your letter last evening. I had intended to have given you a full account of our battle and retreat. But time flies. We left our camp four miles from Centreville at about two O'clock Sunday morning the 21st July 1861. We led the Brigade. That is our Regt did. We marched for about six miles on the road⁸⁰ and then struck into the woods and marched by a very roundabout way for six or seven miles more, when we came out into more open land. After leaving the woods we marched three miles farther, and stopped at a brook to fill our canteens.⁸¹ After resting a quarter of an hour we proceeded on our way round a corner as it were, or wooded bluff. Just as the head of the column had turned this corner we heard the report of a heavy gun.⁸² Which no doubt was a signal for them to open upon us, for we had not gone over fifteen hundred yards when we were fired into by a

⁷⁹ Special dispatch to the *Journal*, Washington, July 22: "The Rhode Island troops have just arrived after a march of fifty miles. Col. Burnside complimented the boys on their bravery. The guide is supposed to be treacherous." *Journal*, July 23, 1861.

⁸⁰ From the 2d's camp beyond Centreville it is about six miles to the wood road.

⁸¹ Apparently refers to the halt near Sudley Ford.

⁸² The report of this gun was heard by many people but no one tells who fired it. Cf. "The Battle Described by a Volunteer," *Press*, July 27, 1861; "DeWitt" to the *Journal*, July 23, 1861.

Regt of rebels hidden behind a long rail fence, at the top of a grove which sloped down to the road where we were. The sensation caused by the first shower of bullets around ones head, is very strange. We were halted and ordered to throw off our blankets & haversacks. This done [we] were ordered to go to our work of slaughter. Such a yell⁸³ as ascended from our Regt as we rushed up the hill has seldom been heard since the Indian war whoop has become extinct. We drove them from the fence back upon open ground where we gave them such a volley of bullets, that they were obliged to retreat to another grove further on.⁸⁴ They made several attempts to form their line and advance. But with our little battery and good marksmen in the infantry soon put a stop to all such proceedings. We held the hill we were upon for forty-five minutes without aid from anyone. That is the 2d Regt and battery. During this time they were bringing up the other regiments. Our men fired away all their ammunition. Twenty-five rounds, and then used that of the dead and wounded. I filled the box of one of our men from a dead man's. When this was gone we were helpless. The other Regiments now came up and we were relieved. The lack of ammunition was one of the greatest oversights on the part of those who commanded the expedition that could have been made.⁸⁵ Col. Slocum is dead but he will never perish in the

⁸³ Matthews Hill, see map, page 9.

⁸⁴ Henry House Hill, see map, page 9.

⁸⁵ In his hasty letter of July 22, written before he had much opportunity to talk things over, Ames refers to "getting out of ammunition." Joseph P. Manton, a volunteer with the 1st R. I., wrote: "They fought heroically until their ammunition was exhausted." *Journal*, July 25, 1861. Years later, after there was ample time to establish an alibi, Private Rhodes wrote: "We withdrew to replenish our ammunition." Rhodes, 21. But the contemporary accounts destroy the validity of Johnston's slur on the Rhode Island troops and on Burnside's official report when he writes:

memory of those who saw him on the battlefield. He was as calm and cool as I have ever seen him. The last order he gave to our Capt was, I give you command of the left wing—keep it. He walked off, and was shot about two minutes afterwards. I saw him as he was being carried off the field, I could see no motion in any of his limbs only a slight motion of the eyelids. He is a man that will be much missed by us all⁸⁶ Major Ballou was a man out of his place. He had no knowledge of field movements which made him less efficient as an officer. We all liked him as a man, and he was a brave man upon the field. I saw his horse laying [sic] upon the field with a hole in his side as large round as the top of a hat, made

“At the very moment that Bee and Evans gave way under the fire of the Federal batteries, Burnside’s men were apparently done with. They made no attempt at pursuit, but on the contrary fell back; Burnside’s official euphemism runs:—‘I withdrew my brigade into the woods in rear of the line for the purpose of supplying the troops with ammunition’” Johnston, 210. Reference to his bibliography shows that Johnston did not make use of private letters, even those published in the newspapers a few days after the battle.

⁸⁶ Elisha H. Rhodes, private in Co. D, wrote: “Col. Slocum had crossed a rail fence in our front and had advanced nearer to the brow of the hill than the line occupied by the regiment. As he returned and was in the act of climbing the fence, he fell on the side next to the regiment. I being the nearest man to him at the time, raised him up, but was unable to lift him from the ground.” Rhodes, 19.

When Col. Slocum was wounded, Gov. Sprague—who was present—immediately promoted Lt.-Col. Frank Wheaton to the command. He was the son of Surgeon Wheaton (note 7) who had been educated to be a civil engineer. He assisted John R. Bartlett in the survey of the United States-Mexican border. Appointed Lt. U. S. Cavalry, 1855; Capt., 1861; commissioned Lt.-Col. 2d R. I., by Gov. Sprague, July 16, 1861. Promoted to Brigadier-General of Volunteers, at Fredericksburg (1862); to brevet Major-General of Volunteers, by Gen. Sheridan, at Cedar Creek (1864).

Gen. Wheaton commanded either a regiment, a brigade, or a division in every battle in which the Army of the Potomac was engaged from Bull Run to Appomatox, besides participating in Gen. Sheridan’s Shenandoah Valley campaigns (1864). Bartlett, 433-35, *Journal*, June 20, 1903.

by the ball that killed the Major.⁸⁷ Burnside God bless him is a man who has not his equal upon the face of the earth. He had the command after Col Hunter was wounded. McDowell could not be found half the time. Gen. Burnside was in and on the field all the time. His hat had several bullet holes in the top. When he heard of Col. Slocum's death, he was very much affected even to tears. When Burnside came off the field he said in the presence of some of the Officers of the 1st and 2d Regiments, "By G-d the fighting men are in the 2d." This is as true as the day is long. He is a man who never uses profane language and this was owing to the excitement of the moment. Capt Steere did very well indeed and well merits his promotion.⁸⁸ We will now return to the retreat. After our ammunition had given out we retired to the woods in our rear. The rebel batteries seemed to be silenced and I went on my expedition through the woods which you know about.⁸⁹ Just as I had finished my tour of misery seeing, I saw an artillery wagon rushing past, and a man as I passed the Hospital told me that we were retreating. I was

⁸⁷ "Major Ballou showed himself the bravest of the brave," "Tockwotton," in the *Press*, July 26, 1861. He was appointed Major "not for his military experience, but from the general confidence felt, and most justly felt, in him. He proved before his death . . . that he possessed an unusual capacity for command, and a great aptitude for the military art." Bartlett, 250. (*cf.* note 41).

⁸⁸ Promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, July 22, 1861.

⁸⁹ July 23, 1861, Ames wrote his father: "After the battle was fought I went into a grove where the secessionists had been concealed. I found the grove covered with the dead and dying. The sight was one that I pray never to see again. One poor fellow with his leg blown off called me to him, and asked me to shake hands with him. I did so. He then asked me if I had any ill feelings towards him. I replied, No, but I am sorry that brothers should be obliged to slaughter each other in this manner. The poor fellow burst into tears and said he came from Georgia and that they would have shot him in his own house if he had not come. I saw many heart rendering [sic] scenes. . . . I must go now and help take an account of the dead and wounded. Sad business this."

very much inclined to tell him he lied for after such fighting as we had just gone through with, I thought it was ridiculous.⁹⁰ But when I got to the top of the hill it proved a reality. The retreat was not an orderly one for about one mile when we were halted. The two Rhode Island Regiments were formed in good order, and in fact our Brigade I think was the best formed and governed of all the troops in the column. We marched back through the woods by the same road that we came. I knew and expected that if the enemy had been reinforced by Johnston, that we would be either cut off whilst going through the wood or when we attempted to cross the bridge at Bull Run.⁹¹ And sure enough after the column had commenced filing over the bridge they opened upon us with shot and shell from their cannon posted in a thick wood opposite the bridge. A ball came crashing over my head into the woods snapping off the boughs and branches as if they had been pipe stems. I stopped to see if I could not help rally the men but it was no use. Men who have been walking and fighting from two in the morning until six in the evening with nothing to eat cannot be made to do much work. Now came the grand stampede. I thought to myself Ames you have got to get across that brook or have your throat cut. You must either ford it or go over the bridge. I then had an idea that they would try to sweep the bridge knowing there must be a jam there. I therefore jumped in up to my middle and gained

⁹⁰ Ames was not alone in his opinion. "At three in the afternoon the enemy disappeared in our front and the firing ceased. We considered that a victory had been won. The wounded were cared for and then orders came for us to retire to a piece of woods in our rear and fill our boxes with ammunition." Rhodes, 21. Cf. "Tockwotton" in the *Press*, July 25, 1861; Woodbury, 35-36; *First R. I. Regt.*, 106.

⁹¹ He means the bridge over Cub Run, as he was never near Stone Bridge over Bull Run.

the other side in safety.⁹² The retreat after leaving the bridge was a grand mixture of all the Regiments, until we got to our old camp beyond Centreville where our Regiment was reformed and proceeded on to Washington marching until about nine or ten the next morning.⁹³ A pretty severe job I can tell you. Any person can see that there was very little judgement shown in the whole affair. We were not fit for anything when we arrived upon the battle ground. For a march of fifteen miles with heavy blanket and nothing to eat does not improve a man for fighting order. And we were to be kept as a reserve. But the first thing that we knew the lion had his jaws open and we were walking in like flies. There is only two ways in which I can account for our great mishap. McDowell is either a *traitor* or a d—— fool. In answer to your question about our company being first in the battle—you must understand that an army in advancing through a hostile country throws out what are called flankers and skirmishers. These always meet the enemy first and give the alarm to the column.⁹⁴

From all accounts every one in the Rhode Island regiments was completely surprised by the order to retreat. Chaplain Jameson, of the Second, said: "I supposed the

⁹² "The bridge [over Cub Run]," wrote "Tockwotton," "was at once broken and the river choked with vehicles of all sorts, so that passage to others than persons on foot and single horsemen by fording the stream became impossible." "Tockwotton," *Press*, August 5, 1861. See also, Monroe, 25, and Rhodes, 22.

⁹³ "They [the Rhode Island regiments] came over Long Bridge in line, with Colonel Burnside and Governor Sprague at their head." Joseph P. Manton in the *Journal*, July 25, 1861.

⁹⁴ The sketch which Ames appended to this letter would indicate that the skirmishers were in advance as well as beside the column, but Lt. John P. Shaw, Co. F, states that his company—not Lt. Ames' Co. D.—was the advance guard and had skirmishers "on each side of the road." *Journal*, July 27, 1861. Monroe said the 2d R. I. "skirmishers, contrary to the custom of throwing them well in advance, . . . moved directly on the flanks of the column." Monroe, 12.

day was gained. Our part was a victory.”⁹⁵ Chaplain Woodbury, who had acted as an aide to Burnside, wrote: “The enemy acknowledges himself beaten at half past three o’clock.”⁹⁶ But on the Henry House Hill the Confederates had rallied and with Jackson’s brigade “standing like a stone wall” turned the tide. “Here, about half-past 3 P. M., began the scene of confusion and disorder that characterized the remainder of the day,” wrote Gen. Sherman in his official report, July 25, 1861. “Up to that time, all had kept their places, and seemed perfectly cool. . . ; but the short exposure to an intense fire of small-arms, at close range, had killed many, wounded more, and had produced disorder in all of the battalions that attempted to encounter it.” From the Rhode Island point of view it is sufficient to note that the retreat and ensuing panic occurred when her regiments were not engaged.

“It is now generally admitted,” wrote Sherman (1875), “that it was one of the best-planned battles of the war, but one of the worst fought. . . . Both armies were fairly defeated, and, whichever had stood fast, the other would have run. Though the North was overwhelmed with mortification and shame, the South really had not much to boast of, for in three or four hours of fighting their organization was so broken up that they did not and could not follow our army when it was known to be in a state of disgraceful and causeless flight.”⁹⁷

The Ames letters do not reflect any of the mortification to which Gen. Sherman refers. Gov. Sprague’s address to the troops saying that “he would give his last

⁹⁵ *Press*, July 25, 1861.

⁹⁶ Woodbury, *First R. I. Regt.*, 106.

⁹⁷ Sherman, I, 181-82, Henderson, I, 141-54. “Lt. ——— says Russell of the [London] *Times* told him that he had seen every kind of a ‘scrimmage’ from an Irish wake to a pitched battle, and he never saw anything so strange as that rout, when there was nothing to run from.” *Journal*, July 31, 1861.

drop of blood and his last cent to have us avenged,”⁹⁸ encouraged Ames to express similar sentiments: “If ever we go into Va again it will not be with a light step as before paying double price for everything we wanted to eat and drink. There is one thing I am sure of, the soldiers will if not restrained by some high powers burn and slay as they go. They are bound to be avenged.” But this mood passes in the next sentence and he agrees with his father that there “is a great deal of boasting amongst some people. I have tried not to open my mouth upon what I did during the battle. For if I did anything others will know it without my singing my song to every person that I meet.”⁹⁹

If he is modest about himself, yet he delights to tell of the exploits of others. “The President came out to see us after our return. He was introduced to our Color-Bearer,¹⁰⁰ a very brave young fellow who stood like a man of iron in the face of the hottest fire. I was near the Glorious old flag when a cannon ball came rushing through the silken folds of our banner, Which by the way is pretty well riddled by rifle balls.” Said an officer, “That fellow alone is worth a thousand men.”¹⁰¹ Lincoln and Secretary Seward, who accompanied him, “were informed both of his conduct and of the admiration of it expressed by officers of other regiments in the field. Mr. Seward took his name,” wrote the correspondent of the *Press*, “and you will be pleased to learn the brave fellow has received a commission.”¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Ames to Mother, July 25, 1861.

⁹⁹ Ames to Father, July 26, 1861.

¹⁰⁰ John M. Duffy, Color-Sergeant Co. C, June 5, 1861; 2d Lt., July 22, 1861; 1st Lt. Co. B, Nov. 13, 1861; resigned to accept appointments as 1st Lt. 13th U. S. Infantry, Nov. 26, 1861; Capt. 22d U. S. Infantry, Nov. 8, 1864.

¹⁰¹ *Press*, July 26, 1861.

¹⁰² *Press*, July 29, 1861. In a letter to the *Evening Bulletin*, February 8, 1867, John R. Bartlett states that he erred in giving credit for this exploit to C. G. Pierce, Co. G. (P. 125); that he had since been informed by Gen. Nelson Viall the real hero was John M. Duffy.

Ames was naturally affected by the loss of his fellow officers.

"It seems very sad as I sit by the door of my tent.¹⁰³ Opposite if I happen to glance in that direction, I miss the pleasant faces of the Col and Major. If to the right of me our messmate Capt Smith.¹⁰⁴ If I look to the left of us Capt Tower is gone.¹⁰⁵ It is truly sad to see what desolation and misery a few dirty scoundrels called Politicians can bring about. Pell was not injured in the least and is as bright as ever."¹⁰⁶

On July 28 Ames wrote his father:

"The vacancies caused by death in our ranks have at last been filled. Capt Steere is our Lt Col. and a good one he will make. Capt. Viall is to be our Major. Sears whose number was very near the head has been promoted.¹⁰⁷ He is now Capt of Co D. My number was formerly ten it is now five so if we have another *Bull Run*, I shall be promoted to a *captaincy* or first lieutenant berth.

"These promotions are not made on account of bravery or any other deeds done on the battle field. This promotion leaves the 1st Lt berth open. This is now filled by Jim Aborn,¹⁰⁸ who is the Quartermaster and he being detached for this service it leaves me the work of both Lts under a very poor Captain a man who I do not respect

¹⁰³ Ames to Mother, July 26, 1861.

¹⁰⁴ Samuel James Smith of Seekonk. He was a practicing apothecary in Woonsocket. Mustered as Capt. Co. I, 2d R. I., June 5, 1861. Killed at the bridge over Cub Run on the retreat. Bartlett, 129-30.

¹⁰⁵ Levi Tower of Blackstone, Mass. Left Brown because of ill health. Entered the employ of Jacob Dunnell, the calico printer in Pawtucket. Ensign 1st R. I. and transferred as Capt. Co. F, 2d R. I. Bartlett, 127-28.

¹⁰⁶ Duncan Archibald Pell of Newport, Ames' classmate. In his sophomore year at Brown, he enlisted as a private 1st R. I.; 1st Lt. Sept. 17, 1861; appointed aide to Gen. Burnside and attended him on the campaigns of Roanoke Island and Newbern. Bartlett, 257-62.

¹⁰⁷ Every rank, e. g., Captain, First Lieutenant, etc., drew numbers for the order of their rank and promotion.

¹⁰⁸ James Aborn of Providence: 1st Lt. Co. B, and Quartermaster, June 6, 1861; resigned, March 13, 1863.

and what is more I can not as I have known him too long. I do not wish to boast but I will say that I did my duty on *Sunday* last and what is more they know here that I did not get behind any old chimnies or houses on the ground. Now, I wish to serve under a man that knows more than I do, and a man that I respect. The course I have laid out for myself is to try it as long as I can and then resign my commission if I find him as he always is very much of a bully over those below him."

William Ames was a reserved and careful person all his life. It seems probable that a severe attack of "Job's comforters" was responsible for the outburst of spleen in his letter of July 31.

"I have made it a practice since my return from the battle not to open my mouth upon the actions and behavior of any person on the field of battle. But in you I have a person and friend in whom I can trust.

"Capt Cyrus Dyer is accused of not making his appearance in good season and when he was seen was under the influence of liquor.¹⁰⁹ His 1st Lt is said to have hidden behind a chimney, in a neighboring farm house. His name is Arnold from the country.¹¹⁰ I believe Capt Dexter¹¹¹ of the 1st was not at all anxious to get into harms way but laid on his stomach in a hollow clawing the earth as if he had a bad belly ache. Lt Warner¹¹² of the 1st was not upon his feet much of the time. Frank Goddard¹¹³ fought well on his own part but had no command over his men.

¹⁰⁹ Cyrus G. Dyer of Providence: 1st Lt. and Quartermaster, 1st R. I., April 18, 1861; resigned and appointed Capt. Co. A, 2d R. I., June 1, 1861; Major 12th R. I., Oct. 10, 1862; mustered out, July 29, 1863.

¹¹⁰ Stephen T. Arnold of Providence: 1st Lt. Co. A, June 6, 1861; wounded at Bull Run; resigned, Oct. 26, 1861.

¹¹¹ Arthur F. Dexter, Capt. Co. A, 1st R. I.; appointed Capt., on staff of Brig.-Gen. Tyler, April, 1862; afterwards resigned.

¹¹² Luther C. Warner, 1st Lt., Co. C, 1st R. I.

¹¹³ Francis Wayland Goddard of Providence: enlisted as private Co. C, 1st R. I.; promoted to be Capt. Carbineers, June 27, 1861. *Proceedings*, R. I. Hist. Soc., 1889-90, 93-96.

I can only say and it is the opinion of a great many here that Burnside got them home as soon as he could in order to get rid of comparison. Bob Goddard,¹¹⁴ Moses Jenkins, Hoppin, DeWolf, Greene, Bill Jones, and a great many others fought bravely.¹¹⁵

"When we left Providence my number was ten of the 2d Lts. It is now four in the line of promotion. Sears was No two of the 1st Lts. So that he is now a Capt and will make a very poor one, I think. I do not say this from jealousy, because I do not consider myself experienced or old enough to take the responsibility of such an office. But a 1st lieutenantcy I am pretty sure of having very soon."

A few days later, August 1, he wrote his mother: "I hope you will burn that letter with all the personal observations in it."

Though he was less splenetic in mind he was no better in body.

"To commence my *tale of woe*. I have several of Job's comforters upon the calves of my legs. 2dly I have a large gathering in my right ear. . . . All this was no doubt brought on by eating too much salt meat. Not having any ice it is almost impossible to keep fresh meat in good order ten minutes. . . . You must not *aggravate* me by describing your dinners."¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Robert H. I. Goddard of Providence: Brown '58, enrolled as private Co. C, 1st R. I., April 17, 1861, mustered in, May 2, 1861; volunteer Aide-de-Camp on staff of Generals Burnside and Parke, 1862-63; brevet Major of Volunteers, for gallant service at Knoxville, Tenn., Aug. 1, 1864; brevet Lt.-Col. Volunteers for meritorious services at Fort Stedman and Fort Sedgwick, Va., April 2, 1865; resigned, July 3, 1865. *Journal*, March 10, 1906, Feb. 10, 1907, April 24, 1916.

¹¹⁵ Moses B. Jenkins; William W. Hoppin; William D. Jones, private Co. C, 1st R. I. The "Greene" referred to may be Aaron S., Arnold, Edward W. or William W. B. Greene; the "DeWolf" may be either James A. or Winthrop DeWolf, all members of Co. C, 1st R. I.

¹¹⁶ Ames to Father, August 5, 1861.

While having his leg dressed he "saw a pile of bandages upon a table and recognized your handwriting," he wrote his mother. "I little thought when you were rolling them at home that I should see them again here."¹¹⁷

Unfit for duty and confined to camp he evidently was not in uniform. He tried to amuse his little brother Ned: "You ought to see me just at present. I have invested in a pair of white canvass |sic| shoes which are very nice and easy. The old felt hat which father advised me to put in my trunk I find a great blessing. I have cut a hole in the top and placed a figure two upon the front. This makes a very fancy rig."¹¹⁸

Gov. Sprague had been commissioned Brigadier-General and there was much speculation about his duties.

"I was glad to see by your letter [Ames wrote his father, August 11] that the Governor would not accept the Office of Brigadier-General. For if he did he would most probably have command of our Brigade and in my poor little opinion he is too rash to lead a large body of men into battle. I think he is a man that would have his men cut to pieces when there was no need of it. Not that he is not brave. For every person knows that he is. But a little too rash for my money. Now of all the men upon the earth give me Burnside for the Commander of our Brigade. He in my opinion is a great deal cooler and has a better knowledge of military matters. I am in hopes that he will be over us. As the Governor can be more useful in his present capacity of a Father as it were of the R I Regiments. I was also sorry to see that he had appointed Tompkins as Major of the Light Artillery."¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Ames to Mother, August 6, 1861.

¹¹⁸ Ames to his brother, Edward Carrington Ames, August 6, 1861.

¹¹⁹ Charles H. Tompkins of New Windsor, N. Y.: Capt. Providence Marine Corps of Artillery, "which was not only the first volunteer battery in the service, but for some time the only battery of rifled guns." Bartlett, 373-82. The 1st R. I. Battery saw service under Gen. Patterson near Harper's Ferry.

He was despised by all of his men and was even driven all around the cannons one night by one of the men who was just drunk enough to show his spite to his Captain. Tompkins never noticed it as he should have done.

"Captain Reynolds¹²⁰ of the 2d Battery is a man who is liked by all and a good officer. It is the opinion of all our Officers that he is the man for that place.

"I have heard from persons who have arrived here from Providence that the 1st Regt were perfect David Crocketts amongst the wildcats at Bull Run, they all having killed four or five men apiece. I saw a letter which was found in the 1st Regt Quarters after they had left. It was not quite finished and was written by one of Goddard's Co saying that he had killed sixteen men and lauding his Co to the heavens. . . ."

He closed with a comment which revealed his native business acumen:

"Anyone can see by looking at the resources of the South that they cannot stand as long a war as we can so that I feel no trouble about whipping them after a while."

(To be Continued)

¹²⁰ William H. Reynolds: 1st Lt. 1st R. I.; resigned June 1, 1861; appointed Capt. 2d Battery, R. I. Lt. Artillery, June 6, 1861; Lt. Col. 1st R. I. Lt. Artillery, Sept. 13, 1861. Bartlett, 387-90.

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 Mrs. Frederic A. Wallace
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Manuscripts

BY GIFT FROM:

Dr. Asa S. Briggs, *Records of First Seventh Day Church of Hopkinton, R. I., 1690-1716*, copied by Louise Prosser Bates.

William Allan Dyer, *Genealogical Record "By the Name of Dyer."*

Henry A. Greene, Promissory Note \$1.00, Farmer's Exchange Bank.

Serril W. Nicholas, *Family of Rev. William Moore of Newport.*

Miss Mary W. Peckham, 5 letters and documents (1807-35) relative to Thomas W. Peckham.

Commander Simon Ray Sands, Map of Block Island showing land set aside for 16 original owners.

John A. Street, 3 documents (1784-1802) relative to Hezekiah Olney.

F. L. Titsworth, *Records of the Pomham Club*, 1882-1902.

James A. Tyson, 2 Attorney Day Books 1823-34 and 1845-51; and 7 Account Books 1803-1836.

OTHER MATERIAL

Relative to the elections of 1840, 1884, 1888 and 1940 presented by Mrs. Lawrence Lanpher, Hon. Peter G. Gerry, F. G. Valpey, Henry A. Greene, Nelson H. Thorp and Democratic State Central Committee.

RHODE ISLAND BOOKS PURCHASED

Gilbert Stuart and His Pupils (New York City, 1939) by John Hill Morgan.

The Irrepressible Democrat, Roger Williams (New York City, 1940) by Samuel H. Brockunier.

Rhode Island Architecture (Providence, 1939) by Henry R. Hitchcock, Jr.

Roger Williams, His Life, Work and Ideals (Washington, D. C., 1939) by Charles S. Longacre.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF THE UNITED STATES have many and interesting functions. They must collect and preserve historical material, printed and manuscript, and must maintain libraries and museums, well catalogued and accessible; they must print and publish; they must arouse public interest, and keep alive a patriotic regard for local history; they must take part in celebrations; they must accumulate biographical and obituary records; they must attract money and members. We all know that, considering their resources, they do most of these things exceedingly well. Each of us knows the serious efforts which his own society makes to accomplish these tasks; each of us is under frequent obligations to other societies for the fruits of their zealous and successful labors. The development of their libraries in particular can not fail to excite admiration. It may be said with confidence that there is no other country in the world in which the libraries of historical societies have so important a place as they have among the libraries of the United States.

J. Franklin Jameson, *Annual Report* of the
American Historical Association, 1897, 53.

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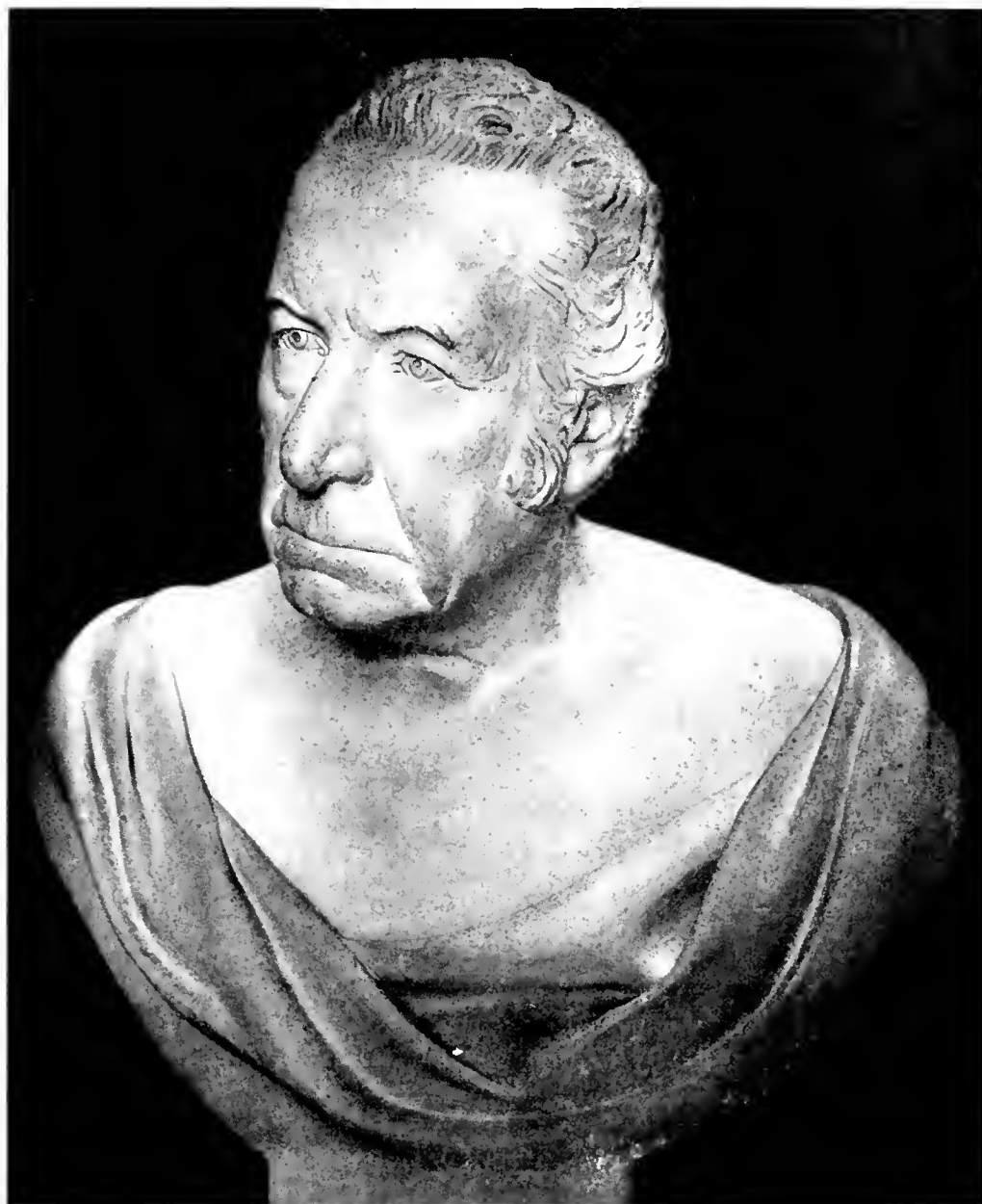
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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXXIV

APRIL, 1941

No. 2



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GILBERT STUART, AETAT 69. PORTRAIT BUST FROM THE LIFE MASK
BY JOHN HENRI ISAACS BROWERE (1792-1834).

Courtesy of the Redwood Library, Newport

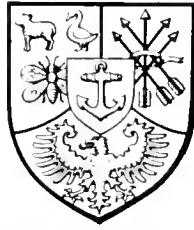
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RHODE
HISTORICAL



ISLAND
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COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXXIV

APRIL, 1941

No. 2

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The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

What Was Gilbert Stuart's Name?

JOHN HILL MORGAN*

Stuart, the famous painter, was christened "Gilbert," but the wisecracks of our Post Office Department have seen fit to dub him "Gilbert Charles Stuart." Its decision on a question of fact of this kind would be of no importance had not the power, inherent in the Department, permitted it to issue a set of stamps, commemorative of illustrious Americans; the one cent variety of which bears a poor likeness of the painter, with his name engraved as "Gilbert Charles Stuart." Plate 1.

How many millions of one cent stamps will be sold from this issue and, as the inevitable result, how many individuals will come to believe that "Gilbert Charles Stuart" was indeed his name, lies in the realm of pure conjecture and need not be here considered.

* John Hill Morgan is an eminent authority on early American portrait painters and has written many books and articles on the subject, among them being *Early American Painters*, *A Sketch of the Life of Gilbert Stuart*, *Gilbert Stuart and His Pupils* and (with Mantle Fielding) *Life Portraits of George Washington and their Replicas*.

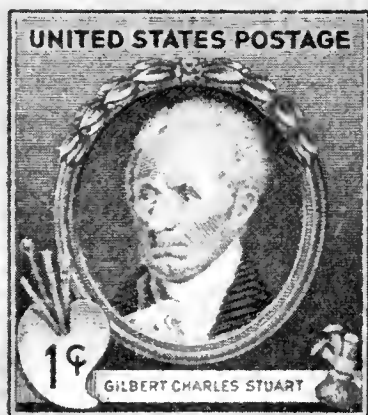


PLATE I

STAMP ISSUED BY THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT SEPTEMBER 5, 1940, GIVING THE PAINTER'S NAME AS GILBERT CHARLES STUART.

But the facts should be made available somewhere to those interested and it is with this thought in mind that the following has been written.

Let us rid ourselves first of a less important but connected matter, i.e., as to the likeness of Stuart which appears on the stamp: there are several portraits of Stuart and it would seem that the miniature by Sarah Goodridge was the one used by the engraver. While it is known that Jane Stuart preferred this to other painted portraits of her father, that does not necessarily make it a good likeness, as the reputation of Sarah Goodridge, among the painters of miniatures, is not high.

Why the dignified and, in some ways, pathetic bust of Stuart in old age by J. H. I. Browere, (Redwood Library, Newport), was not chosen will, perhaps, ever remain a mystery. Concerning this likeness Jane Stuart wrote: "This head was a cast made over his face, and was a living and most beautiful thing." As it is, the engraver of the stamp—which is of a sickly green color—has succeeded admirably in making Stuart resemble an anxious rabbit—a characterization of him, which is at least, somewhat novel.

* * * *

To return to our main subject, what was Gilbert Stuart's name? Our inquiry must take the form of rehearsing the facts which prove that although baptized "Gilbert Stuart,"

for a short period early in his life, Stuart himself adopted "Charles" for his middle name.

The error of the use of the name "Charles" dates back to our first book on American art by William Dunlap,¹ published by him in 1834. This work has preserved for us the names of most of our early artists, going back into the Colonial times and, as such, its importance should not be underestimated. So much has been written as to the inaccuracies appearing in Dunlap, that it would seem unnecessary to state the facts again, except that their repetition makes clear the origin of his error. At the time Dunlap wrote, the railroad had not come into being and, although transportation by water and post road along the Atlantic seaboard was fairly satisfactory, it was not the habit of Dunlap or other historians of his day to make journeys to distant cities for the purpose of searching the records first-hand. Dunlap accumulated most of his facts by correspondence. What he did was to write to living artists for biographical facts and, concerning those dead, he corresponded with their friends and often requested information about other artists living or dead in distant neighborhoods. It inevitably followed from this method that Dunlap's published statements depend upon the accuracy or bias of his correspondents, and as these in turn had an aversion to the boring task of consulting records, their contributions often consisted of more or less inaccurate anecdotes. In the case in point, the opening paragraphs of Dunlap's biography of Gilbert Stuart read as follows:

"Having arrived at that period which is made memorable in the history of American arts, by the commencement of the career in portrait-painting of one who has yet no rival, we, in accordance with our plan, give here a biographical notice of Gilbert Charles Stuart, born in 1754.

¹ *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*. William Dunlap. 2 Vols. (New York, 1834.)

have made the error he did, but he relied on Dr. Waterhouse, to his cost. His letter, as published by Dunlap, does not state that the painter was christened "Gilbert Charles;" all it proves is that Dr. Waterhouse owned a letter signed "G. C. Stuart." As the art writers of the forty years following Dunlap's book showed the same aversion to examining records, taking the easier course of copying Dunlap, it has followed that the name "Charles" was occasionally inserted into Stuart's name by careless writers. It would be of no profit to go through the long list of those who copied this error, but the two most important should be analyzed.

Probably the most unreliable of all authorities on our early painters is Henry T. Tuckerman's *Book of the Artist* (New York, 1867). On page 8 of Volume I, this author refers to "Gilbert Stuart;" at page 107, he begins his biography of the artist as follows:

"Charles Gilbert Stuart was born in Narragansett, R. I. in 1756;" while on page 108, referring to Stuart's mother he remarks:

"Her son Gilbert was named Gilbert Charles Stuart." Just which of these names did Tuckerman think he bore, "Charles Gilbert" or "Gilbert Charles"? We shall never know!

There are but five facts stated in the first excerpt and admitting the first two; that Stuart was born, and born in Rhode Island; of the remaining three, we point out that Stuart was not born in Narragansett, but in the township of North Kingstown in the Narragansett Country; that he was not born in 1756 but on December 3rd, 1755, and nobody before or since—not even our Post Office Department—has named him "Charles Gilbert." Three errors in one line of type is quite an accomplishment even for Tuckerman. So much for the first error.

Next Jane Stuart published three articles concerning her distinguished father in *Scribner's Monthly*. One, entitled "The Youth of Gilbert Stuart By His Daughter," *Scribner's Monthly*, March 1877, printed the baptismal record

(p. 641) showing that his given name was "Gilbert," but referring to her grandfather Gilbert Stuart and his wife she wrote:

"Their son, Gilbert Charles Stuart, artist, was born on the 3^d of December, 1755."

It thus appears that although Miss Stuart had the record before her and thus knew that he was christened "Gilbert," still she inserted the name "Charles." Her other articles were "The Stuart Portraits of Washington" and "Anecdotes of Gilbert Stuart" which appeared in *Scribner's Monthly*, July 1876 and July 1877, respectively. Nowhere else, except in the excerpt given above, did she speak of her father other than as Gilbert Stuart.

If Jane Stuart really thought her father's name was "Gilbert Charles" why did she not use it in the title to her articles? Elsewhere the writer has pointed out the unreliability of Jane Stuart's dreams as to the gentle birth of her grandfather and of his having taken any part in the Rebellion of 1745-46 in favor of Prince Charles Edward, "The Young Pretender." The conclusion being that could she link her grandfather with the Royal House of Stuart and the romance of a lost cause it would add dignity to her ancestry.³ So in her article on her father, with the proof staring her in the face, she could not give up her own romance.

The most important biography of Stuart appearing in the two generations after Dunlap, was that by George C. Mason, published in 1879. In the preface to his work the author writes as follows:

"This biography of Gilbert Stuart was written at the request of Miss Jane Stuart, the only surviving member of Mr. Stuart's family. Miss Stuart intended to prepare it herself, and had published three papers

³ *Gilbert Stuart, An Illustrated Descriptive List of His Works*, compiled by Lawrence Park with an account of his life by John Hill Morgan. Vol. I, pp. 11, 12.

on the subject in *Scribner's Monthly*; but finding the work too laborious, owing to the demands of her profession on her time, and the difficulty experienced in searching out the pictures painted by Stuart (now widely scattered), it was assigned by her to other hands; . . .”

When Mason discussed the painter's name he wrote as follows:

“To the house and mill on the Petaquamscott . . . he [Gilbert Stuart, Sr.] took his bride, and in that quiet retreat three children were born to them—James, who died in infancy, Ann, who became the wife of Henry Newton, and the mother of Stuart Newton [the artist], and Gilbert, who was born December 3^d, 1755.”

After printing the baptismal record: “April 11th, 1756, being Palm Sunday, Doctor McSparran read prayers, preached, and baptized a child named Gilbert Stewart, son of Gilbert Stewart, the snuff-grinder.”⁴

He added: “In this entry two things are noticeable, —the spelling of Stuart's name, and the absence of “Charles” after the Gilbert: he having been known in early life as Gilbert Charles Stuart. The first may be easily traced to inadvertency in making the entry; and the inserting of the Charles in the child's name was probably an after-thought of his father, who was as much of a Jacobite as was his friend and countryman, Dr. Moffatt. The “Charles,” Stuart dropped in after years, and answered only to the name of Gilbert Stuart.”⁵

This, we think, presents the solution of the use by the painter of the name “Charles.” Mason was a trained

⁴ Mason's version differs slightly from the original record, see Plate 2.

⁵ *The Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart* by George C. Mason. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. 1879), p. 2.

writer of history. He knew the superior value of the original record over friendly gossip or family tradition. He also had the advantage of the help of Miss Stuart, and his conclusion that Stuart for some reason used the name "Charles" for a short period in early manhood is borne out by such facts as have come to light.

* * * *

What are these facts which would suggest the reason for Stuart's adoption of "Charles" as a middle name?

There was a considerable colony of Scotsmen living in Newport in the painter's youth with which the Stuart family were intimate. We know that the partner of Stuart, Sr. was Dr. James Moffatt, a Scotsman and also that he it was who induced Stuart to emigrate from Perth, Scotland, to Newport. Cosmo Alexander, a Scotch artist, arrived in Newport somewhere around 1770, and young Stuart became his pupil, and accompanied him on a trip through the southern colonies and then to Scotland. The only sure date we have concerning this trip is that of Cosmo Alexander's death which occurred there, late in August, 1772. We know that after this event Stuart attempted to support himself by painting portraits and, returning to Newport some time in the year 1773, remained in Rhode Island until the spring of 1775. His father was then making arrangements to emigrate to Nova Scotia with his family but the son evidently disliking the move sailed for England, we are told, alone, with little money and but one letter of introduction in his pocket, to Alexander Grant, a Scotsman living in London.

Stuart's boyhood friend, Benjamin Waterhouse, completing his studies in Edinburgh, arrived in London in the summer of 1776 and there found Stuart, lodging probably with one John Palmer in "York-buildings" with but one picture on his easel, a family group being painted for Alexander Grant.

There can be no doubt but that at this time Stuart used the name "Gilbert Charles," an example being the letter (signed G. C. Stuart) to Benjamin West wherein Stuart

begged his help. The letter is not dated, but Stuart wrote:

"I've just arriv'd att the age of 21."

This proves that it was written after December 3rd, 1776, Stuart's twenty-first birthday.⁶ Dr. Waterhouse owned an early letter similarly signed of which he wrote Dunlap. After entering Benjamin West's studio as a pupil, probably in the spring of 1777, Stuart exhibited in the Royal Academy of that year and the catalogue names him, "G. C. Stuart 27 Villers Street, Strand." Stuart exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1779, wherein he is named "G. Stuart at Mr. West's, Newman Street." The catalogue of the Incorporated Society of Artists of 1783 lists him as "Gilbert Charles." His own self-portrait in the Redwood Library, Newport, is signed "G. Stuart, *Pictor, se ipso pinxit, A.D. 1778, aetatis sua 24.*"

An important reference to Stuart's use of the name "Charles" can be deduced from a letter of Sir John Dick addressed to Sir Alexander Dick. The story is told in *Curiosities of a Scots Charter Chest* by the Hon. Mrs. Athol Forbes, (pp. 308, 316),⁷ but it is enough here to say that Sir John had had his portrait painted for the family home Prestonfield, Scotland and wrote Sir Alexander Dick on December 14, 1783 saying that,

"The Painter's Name is Charles Stuart, an American, was some time at Edinburgh, where he did several Pictures, since that he has studied under M^r West and is I think one of the best Portrait Painters here [London]."

That Stuart liked the name appears from the fact that he christened his son Charles Gilbert. From this it would appear that Gilbert Stuart, Scotch by ancestry, associating

⁶ This letter is reproduced in facsimile in the writer's biography of Stuart contained in *Gilbert Stuart* compiled by Lawrence Park Vol. I, p. 29.

⁷ This letter is discussed in *Gilbert Stuart and His Pupils* by John Hill Morgan. (New York Historical Society, 1939), pp. 12, 13.

with Scotch people in Newport, Edinburgh and in London, for a time inserted the name "Charles" between his given and his family name, probably in order to curry favor with his friends and patrons.

Stuart, leaving London in the fall of 1787, resided in Dublin, Ireland, for the next five years. Returning to his native land either in the fall of 1792 or early in the year of 1793, he remained here until his death in Boston in 1828.

The earliest use of the name "Charles"—and then only of the initials "G. C."—which the writer has found, is Stuart's letter to Benjamin West, probably written sometime in December of 1776, and the latest appears in the letter of Sir John Dick dated December 14, 1783. No use of the name of "Charles" in Ireland or in this country has been found. He was christened "Gilbert," he used that name for sixty years of his life, the record of his burial, and the tablet which marks his grave so name him and his name was Gilbert Stuart.

Those in the Post Office Department responsible for the name on the stamp might be excused for making this error had not the matter been called to their attention. Seeing in the New York *Herald Tribune*, July 19, 1939, the announcement of the proposed issue of stamps, and that one was to be entitled "Gilbert Charles Stuart," the writer addressed the Honorable James A. Farley calling his attention to Gilbert Stuart's baptismal record and offering to send him a list of the later biographies of Stuart, none of which called him "Gilbert Charles." Under date of July 28, 1939 an answer was received from Mr. Ramsey S. Black, 3rd Assistant Post Master General, stating, among other things, that my views would be given "appropriate consideration in the further development of this special stamp series."

What were the reasons, if any, which determined the Post Office Department to choose a name which was not Stuart's, are unknown.

* * * *

Another controversy, equally as irritating to scholars

and philatelists, arose as to the Post Office from which the covers bearing the first day issue of the Stuart stamp should be canceled.

The writer admits that he is not learned in the lore of philately but believe that there is much desire among collectors and dealers in stamps to obtain these first day covers. While there can be no compelling rule other than good taste governing the Department's choice, it naturally would be the office in the town of Stuart's birth.

Stuart was born in the township of North Kingstown, Kings—now Washington—County, Rhode Island, but again some careless writers have asserted that he was born in "Narragansett" without an explanation of its meaning in Stuart's day. The present writer had occasion to examine this claim, when preparing the article on Stuart for the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XVIII and his conclusion was as follows:

"The often repeated statement that he (Stuart) was born in Narragansett is incorrect without the explanation that "Narragansett" at that time was merely a popular name for "the Narragansett Country," the vague territory west of Narragansett Bay and, after 1677, south of East Greenwich."

Jane Stuart wrote:

"The house in which Gilbert Stuart was born is still standing in North Kingston [sic], a quaint, gable roofed old house."⁸

This house still stands: it is now and was on December 3, 1755 when Stuart was born in the township of North Kingstown in the Narragansett Country. The township of Narragansett was carved out of the township of *South* Kingstown in 1901.

When, therefore, the Post Office Department proposed to cancel the covers of the first day stamps from the Post

⁸ "The Youth of Gilbert Stuart," *Scribner's Monthly*, March 1877 p. 641.

Office in the town of Narragansett, formerly Narragansett Pier, many protests were made even from so high an official as the Governor of the State of Rhode Island, but to no avail.

Granted that the whole matter is of little importance—only interesting a few dusty scholars—still the total of the first day's sale of the Stuart stamp alone from the Narragansett Post Office is given at \$4,345.21 indicating a sale of 434,521.

While no fiat of the Post Office Department can change Stuart's name nor can the sale of stamps at the Narragansett Post Office—a town Stuart never heard of and which did not exist until one hundred forty-six years after his birth and over six miles away—cause him to be born there. Still, from these careless and rather stupid blunders, many will believe that Stuart's given name was "Gilbert Charles" and that he was born in the present town of Narragansett.

Viewing the issuance of this stamp as a whole, we do not think it is an episode of which the Department can take much just pride.

Narragansett

WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER

The following note is an attempt to clarify the use of the term Narragansett, so confusing to many because of its seeming vagaries, both during the colonial period and the present day.

When, in the first half of the seventeenth century, the English penetrated into the lands of the Narragansett Indians, it was found that, while that tribe held jurisdiction over the greater part of the later Colony of Rhode Island, their main strength lay in the southern portion, and therefore this southern portion of the colony quite naturally became known as the Narragansett Country or, simply, Narragansett. The earliest bounds may be said to have been Warwick on the north and the Pawcatuck River on

the south. In 1654, due to the bitter struggle for these lands by neighboring colonies, the King's Commissioners designated this territory as the King's Province. However, the older name of the "Narragansett Country" was still maintained as is shown in contemporary acts of the sovereigns of England which designate the Colony as "The Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, and the Narragansett Country or King's Province."

In the Narragansett Country, in the year 1669, the southern portion was set off as the township of Westerly and five years later the northern portion was established as the township of Kingstown. In 1677, the township of East Greenwich came into being on the north and by force extended its boundaries southward into the township of North Kingstown. Thereafter the southern bound of East Greenwich was considered the northern bound of the Narragansett Country.

In 1722, the township of Kingstown was divided into two townships—North and South Kingstown and subsequently the other townships in the King's Province, later King's County, were taken from Westerly, North Kingstown and South Kingstown. However, the whole territory continued to be known as the Narragansett Country or Narragansett.

Shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century one John Robinson built a pier, to facilitate the loading of ships, to the southward of the beach which lies southwest of the mouth of Pettaquamscutt or Narrow River. Thomas R. Hazard in his *Recollections of Olden Times* speaks of this as the "old Narragansett Pier." It was at this spot that the well known summer resort sprang up many years later, and it was from the pier built by John Robinson that it took its name. This it retained, save for a lapse during the year of 1867 when the Post Office Department christened it, from March to May, "Atlantic Pier," and from May to September, "Atlantic." On January 1, 1925 the same authority again asserted its prerogative by dropping the

word "Pier" and ordered that it be known, for postal purposes, simply as "Narragansett." This, however, was not the first post office in the Narragansett Country to bear that name. In the year 1848 in the little settlement at the old South Ferry, on the shore of the West Passage of Narragansett Bay, a post office was established which was named "Narragansett," which name it bore until the office was discontinued in 1892.

This governmental decree added more confusion to that which already existed. In 1901, the township of Narragansett had been carved out of the township of South Kingstown. Therefore, to use present day and colonial terminology, the town of Narragansett, was situated in the township of Narragansett, in Narragansett or the Narragansett Country.

So when it is recorded that a person was born, christened, lived and died in Narragansett, one must perforce examine the date of the incident referred to. For example, Gilbert Stuart was born in Narragansett, or the Narragansett Country. He was not born in the present town of Narragansett, he was not born in the present township of Narragansett, nor was he christened nor did he live or die in these newly created namesakes.

Gilbert Stuart was born at his father's snuff mill in the township of North Kingstown in Narragansett (or the Narragansett Country). He was not born in a hamlet, village or town. His father's mill was in the country-side over four miles from the village of Wickford, and two and a half miles from Saunderstown, which did not exist in his day, and over six miles from the present town of Narragansett. The church in which he was baptized was then situated but two and a half miles to the west of his father's mill.

Gilbert Stuart was born in 1755 in the township of North Kingstown in the then Narragansett or Narragansett Country, or King's County, in the Colony of Rhode Island. What that locality is called today is, historically, beside the point.

A Colonial Merchant to his Son

From the unpublished letters of John Brown
to his Son James (1782-83).

Edited by FRANK HAIL BROWN*

A brief account of the circumstances and the times at the close of the War for Independence is desirable for the better understanding of this one-sided correspondence, for unfortunately none of the son's letters survive.

Negotiations for peace were progressing between the United States and Great Britain, but the war was still being waged on land and sea. The British fleet was sweeping the seas and blockading the ports, while in the Southlands a more or less desultory warfare continued. French troops were quartered on the people of Providence, Newport and Boston; American privateers swarmed the Atlantic even into the British channel. Merchants, though risking the loss of an occasional vessel through capture by the enemy, held lively commerce with the West Indies, France, Holland and the ports of countries favorable to the American cause.

John Brown, at the age of forty-six, was taking full advantage of the situation and thereby acquiring immense gains from commerce and privateering, in spite of occasional heavy losses. These profits he put into land as the safest investment for the times, buying substantial holding in Providence, Newport, Bristol, Warwick, both North and South Kingstown and Prudence Island.

In 1760 John Brown¹ married Sarah Smith, a descend-

*A condensation of a paper read before the Society, February 13, 1940.

¹ John Brown (1736-1803), one of the "Four Brothers"—Nicholas, Joseph, John and Moses—whose firm, Nicholas Brown & Co., erected (1771-72) the original building at Rhode Island College, now University Hall, Brown University. John Brown was Treasurer of the College (1775-1803).

ant of John Smith, the Miller.² There were four children, the only son, James,³ who was just twenty-one; Abby,⁴ referred to as "Nabbey," aged sixteen; Sally,⁵ aged nine; and Alice,⁶ often called "Elce," aged five.

From John Brown's letters it is fair to assume that James, who had graduated from Harvard (1780) and had probably been in his father's counting-house for about a year, was the constant recipient of advice, admonition and moral precept during all of his college life and at home, until like a balky horse he set back in the breeching and

² John Smith the Miller, one of the original settlers of Providence.

³ James Brown (1761-1834), "A member of Providence College of the standing of Sophomore," according to the records of the President, Professors and Tutors Book of Harvard College, was admitted as a Sophomore on August 29, 1777, aged 15 years 11 months. He received his A.B. with the class of 1780 and his A.M. in course in 1783. Among his classmates were David Leonard Barnes of Scituate, Massachusetts, later U. S. District (R. I.) Judge (1801-12), and John Crane, A.M. (Hon.) Brown 1792; D.D. 1803, Congregational Pastor, Northbridge, Mass. (1783-1836).

James Brown was a member of the Board of Fellows, Brown University (1789-1834). He received the degree A.M. (Hon.) from Dartmouth 1791 and from Brown 1792.

He never married. "Enjoying an ample patrimony, and having no taste for active pursuits, he did not enter a business life or seek public distinction. He was a gentleman of the old school, upright and pure minded in all the relations of private life." *The Chad Browne Memorial* (Brooklyn, 1888), 37.

⁴ Evidently in a previous letter James had written favourably of his friend John Francis, for in his letter to James, December 29, 1782, John Brown says: "If Mr. Francis comes this way he shall receive every favourable notice from me. If I can judge from his parents and connections he must be a deserving young Gentleman."

John Francis came to Providence and married Abby Brown (1766-1821) on January 1, 1788; their son John Brown Francis (1791-1864) was Governor of Rhode Island (1833-38).

⁵ Sarah Brown (1773-1846), married July 2, 1801 to Charles Frederick Herreshoff, a native of Minden, Prussia, then living in New York City.

⁶ Alice Brown (1777-1823), married to John Brown Mason.

refused to move in spite of the verbal lashings of his father. So his father determined to handle his son as he would a balky horse by distracting his mind, sent James on a "tower," in the Fall of 1782, to see new faces and strange places.

But even far from home James seems to have been restless under his father's admonition, kindly and helpful though it was intended to be.

The first letter is addressed to

Mr. James Brown
Now in Philadelphia

Providence October 15, 1782

Dr Son

Yours from Prince Town [Princeton] by Mr Carl Soderstrom of Gottenburgh [Sweden] was handed me yesterday by that polite Gentleman; he went directly on to Boston—

Your mar & Sisters with me are happy to Observe you are well so Far on your Journey [.] How much more than we do, ought we to Bless that Divine Providence who has so repeatedly and Still Continues Showering on my Family his Bountifull Blessings. . . .

Alltho I mentioned to you that I would not exceed 400 or 500 Dolrs for a span of Horses yet nevertheless if you should see a span that are Eligent as well as Possessed with Every other Good Quality and you think are worth more, you are at your Liberty to use your own Prudence in the purchase

If you should Incline to Form any Lasting Connection with a Young Lady Either at Phil [adelphia] or elseware, or whenever this Inclination may happen, I have to Begg Beceash and Intreat, that it be in the best Family and that she be not only Possessed with a Good Education but that her

Naturell Disposition and Manners Joined with her other Vertuous Qualifications cannot Fail to make her Perfectly Agreeable to your Parents Sisters & Friends, and in point of Fortin [fortune] if she Possesses or if her Parents are Liveing and will settle on her Twenty Thousand Pounds Philadela Currency I will Immediately Double the amount on my Son —*but above all* let the Lady be of a Vertuous Carrector and an agreeable Disposition a Calm and Unruffled Temper tho Spritly and Agreeable, Wishing you may find such a Carrector with the Addition of Every thing else which is most agreeable to Yourself, in the Course of a Few Years, I subscribe myself your Parent

John Brown

* * * *

Sunday

Providence November 3, 1782

Dr Son

My Last was by the Last Post since which I have not received any of yours. . . . I then mentioned that I was sorry you should wait a moment for any advice or Directions from me Respecting the finishing the Charriot but that you had Given such Directions as you thought best both in point of its being Durable Convenient or Eligant, or to this Effect, I also Left it intirely to your Judgement Respecting the purchase of a pr. Horse Even if the Price Exceeded what I mentioned when you left me. . . .

I have purchased the PassTuxet Farm of 670 Acres at 20 Dolders Cash per Acre [.] The near part of the Farm 7 miles from this Town. . . . its Agreed by all to be a Good Farm Natuerally but now much out of Repair [,] it wants about Fifteen Thousand of Railes to make the Necessary Fencing on it to be Improved to Advantage.

The Farm is Exceedingly well watered has a Sufficiency of wood for its own Consumption it is A Prittey Ride from Town, it has about 500 Acres of Good Grain Land which may be Inriched from the Manure [sea weed] which Annually Drives on its Shores being at Least Three Miles Distance [long] on the Salt Water I mean to [from] the Head of the Cove Northard of Gaspey or Namquid point to the Head of the Cove to the Westward or within Greens Island, and is nearly one mile on the Plesent and Delightfull Rhode [now Warwick Avenue] from this to Warwick [north line],⁷ it may cut 30 or 40 tons Salt Hay annually it is remarkable for makeing the best of fatt beef. . . .

After commenting on his son James' "Mallincoley Discription of my old & Worthy Friends Misfortins in the Crual Catastofray of his Buildings" near Philadelphia, John Brown asks why the "Supreme Being" should favor him with "so many blessings over what is granted to All most any other Individuell of this or the Nabouring States, I have helth and Strength, my Children are not Deformed nor Devoid of Reason, I have Every Necessary of Life beside an Abundance to Leave to Each or my Children, this being the case How Much Thanks and Adoration is Due from me to that Bountifull hand Who has so Libberally Bestowed all those Blessings. . . ."

* * * * *

Providence November 11th 1782

Dr Son

Our House, wharf, stable and Lott is Jock full of

⁷ John Brown's account tallies closely with the painstaking description of the "Spring Green Farm" prepared (1940) by Harrison S. Taft, who has been making an extensive study of Proprietor's ownership of lands within the confines of the January (1642-43) Warwick purchase and of subsequent ownership history of some of the outstanding colonial farms therein.

French men, Horses, Waggins &c &c. Every Gentleman in town takes the same officers as they did on their march westward last summer.⁸ They first told us it would be only 3 or 4 days but the lutenant of the armey has been at our house already 6 or 7 days and I see no sighne of his Departure, Gen. Rochambeau at Gov. Bowens came the Day before yesterday & Dromeny at Brother Jos. B's yesterday. . . .

I hear Genl. Rochambeau gives a Ball tomorrow or next Day Nite, this Nabbey⁹ will miss off. It appears to me from your letter and from the fue words I had with Mr. Maning¹⁰ on the Subject you are not Determined on the Time of Return, you say it Depends on what you hear from Home, I am Cautious Even in advising I mean not to Direct, but this much I will say, if it is not more agreeable to you to spend the winter at Philade than at Home, it will be much more agreeable to Your Parents & Sisters that you come home before the winter setts in.

For my own part I wish you to do that which will be most for your Good [,] an Acquaintance with mankind & with more parts of the World than One [,] is necessary to inable a man to Cut a Figuer in Life, and every man is born for some purpose or other, I have an anxious Desire that you should be a usefull member of Society in some sphere or other [,] as you do not incline to that of a Merchant so much as to spend your time in that Branch, the Law nor Phisich Does not Ingroose your attention,

⁸ Rochambeau marched west across Connecticut to White Plains, N. Y., where he made a junction with Washington, July 6, 1781. This movement was the beginning of the campaign which led to the surrender of Yorktown, October 17, 1781. Morison and Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (New York, 1937), I, 107.

⁹ James' sister Abby.

¹⁰ Presumably James Manning (1783-91), a founder and First President (1764-91) of Rhode Island College (Brown University) and an intimate of John Brown.

The Statesman therefore is what I wish you to be and the sooner you begin your attention to it the better you'll please me and all your relations. You have an Education and may probably have a considerable Fortin if Heaven doeth not lift her Rod against us. Why should you not give a part of your time to the Publick, its a Duty the man of welth and abillitys owes his Fellow men [.] I wish you to take a seat in our Genl. Assembly in my Place Next Spring, provided you do not cross the Atlantic. You must not suffer yourself to be Hortey, high minded nor so proud as to look Down on those of a Smaller kind of Mortalls but to learn so much of the Courtyer as to please the poore as well as the Rich, Mr. Howall is a good Exempler, so is Doctr. Arnold¹¹ they are both Sencible and prudent, tho they Dont Show off in that Eligent Dress & Lite behavior as some of that August Boddy Congress, they are substantial Members of the Community [,] you may gain Knolage as Necessary of them, as you Can of those who make a Very Different Appearance. Dont Mistake me I Dont mean by this that an Acquaintance with Men of a Different Dress & Address is unnecessary, No[,] Far from it, I wish you to be Acquainted with Every kind of Vertuous Men, as well the men of fashion as

¹¹ David Howell (1747-1824), A.B. College of New Jersey (Princeton) 1766. His fellow student James Manning invited him to Rhode Island College, where he taught natural philosophy and mathematics, French, German and Hebrew. As a member of the Continental Congress (1782-85) he was a leader in Rhode Island's fight against the 5% Impost levied by Congress.

Jonathan Arnold (1741-1793) is said to be the author of the statute repealing the oath of allegiance to England (May 4, 1776). When a delegate to the Continental Congress (1782-84), he persistently objected to laying of an impost.

John Brown's expressed admiration for these men is an indication of the character of their support. Brown was a member of the House of Representatives which rejected the Impost. Ms. *Letter*, John Brown, November 3, 1782, to James Brown in possession of Frank Hail Brown.

the man of figures or of Business, both Publick & Privit and that you abstain from the bad habbits & Customs & Cleave to that which appears to you, after gaining more experience, to be the most Beneficial to your Friends & the Community at large.

I ad no more at present only that I am Your
Affectionate Parent
John Brown

P. S. I have not time to Read what I have wrote, your Descriptions are pleasing, Continue them, Even more Lengthy, if convenient, what number of Houses & Soules is the present Estimate of Philade, how many Vessills are built there [,] how large [,] what price per ton Does a Good Ship Cost. I mean the Hulls including Iron Work or not, but exclusive [of rigging] & sails.

* * * * *

Providence December 24 1782

Dr Son

Yours of the 3d 6th and 7th inst are all to hand by which we are Exceedingly happy to Observe your helth and Pleasures that is I mean that you are in Generall pleased with your tower.

I feel Anxious Least what I wrote you on your Asking me about buying a Fayton which you had not Recd. When you wrote the letter now before me—Should Cause Some uneasy Sencations in Your Mind which I shall be very Sorry for, but tho I did not advise your buying the Fayton, as I thought we had Cariges enough to pay the new Taxes on viz 5£ Money per year on the Coach £5 per year on the Charriott & £3 12s on the Fayton & I think 4s on the Shayses Allredy Established in the Massachusetts and is about being Done here or Sumthing Simmuler over and above the old mode of their being Taxed for their Respective Value, but as you have got it, I

wish you not to make Yourself uneesy, but *if* the Tax on the Cariges takes place, I could wish to Git Rid of all our Cariges but the Shay & Fayiton, or Charriot, but in this case who will buy [?] I ad no more on this Subject. . . .

On the whole Not withstanding all the Letters that has passed I leave it wholley to you weither to Come Home this Winter or to Stay till Spring, Your Friends this way will all be glad to see you but if its more Agreeable to your Inclinations to Remain at Philad I hope youl Learn Two Things viz The French Languige and to Dance

The Post going Cant Ad only that I am

Your Parent

John Brown

P. S. pray allways & at all times have it in your mind that you are my only Son & Consequently that Everything you may do in Respect to your Good or bad *Carrictor Effects me Very Deep*. . . .

* * * * *

Providence Feby 18th 1783

Dr Son

Your Marr & Sister from what they have heard, are Considerable uneasy for Fear you have Fixed your Affections on a Lady Considerably older than yourself, as for my Own part I cannot suppose you so Imprudent, only Consider the Case of Your Uncle Bill¹² [—] a Lady 4 or 5 Years older than Yourself will probably be Wurn out & Bowed Down & as Round Backt as a Monkey by the time you are Middle Aged and perhaps in the prime of Life, Depend

¹² William Smith, b. 1726, older brother of Sarah (Smith) Brown, married Abigail (Dexter) Smith, b. 1715, widow of his cousin William Smith. Thus it would appear that "Uncle Bill's" wife was eleven years older than he.

upon it I will never give my Consent for you to Marry any Lady in the Universe that is Older than Yourself, but any years Under, from One to Ten years, I shall not be Difficult [.] The Miss V may be an excessive Agreeable and Completly Accomplished Lady—her being Severil Years over your age, is a sufficient Objection with me—I Flatter my self their are but fue Ladys within the United States but that your personal Family Fortin [fortune] Education and polite Address will Gain You Admittance to their perticuler Acquaintance, which will Consequently give you a much Graiter Opportunity of Choice than you can have had during your Short Stay at Philadelphia. . . .

Your Sister Salley in her Last Desires in a particular Manner to be Remembered to you in my Next, Perfect Helth is yet most Graciously Bestowed on our Whole Famely, all your Sisters Longs to Imbrace You

I am Your Affectionate Parent

John Brown

* * * * *

Evidently James was still touchy about accepting instructions from his father who writes after receiving his son's letter of February 21 from Baltimore: "[I] am very sorry that anything I may have mentioned in aney of my letters should have given you aney uneasy senceations. I do wish you to appear as a Gentleman possessed of Vertue Honour and Honestty but it Doeth not follow from thence that when you go from home for a Tower of 3 mo. you should continue 6 or 7 mo. As to the Fayiton as you bot it [,] I do not wish to make you appear unstable or wimsicull as sum might constru your conduct if you sold it, Therefore if you can bring both that & the Chariot home with the four horses you'l do it. . . ."

* * * * *

Providence March 31, 1783

Dr Son

After Congratulateing you on the Happy Event of a Genl Peace, I am to aknowledge the Receipt of your Two Letters of the 12th and 13th insta. . . . You will now have an opportunity to see New York on your return.

Your Marr Sister Nabbey and Alice with Polley Stillman is at Poppersquash, I wish I could think of a Better name which might be applicable to the Place, I have thought of one for the PassTuxet Farm on which we enter possession tomorrow and call it *Spring Green*. Its applicable in every sense [:] first its been in the name of the Green Family 100 years and secondly its very Springy and Consequently early in the Spring is Green, and thirdly in the Spring we Entered on the Green Farm. . . .

Adieu

Book Review

THE IRREPRESSIBLE DEMOCRAT: ROGER WILLIAMS

By Samuel Hugh Brockunier

(New York; The Ronald Press Company, 1940. Pp. XII, 305. \$4.00)

The Irrepressible Democrat, Roger Williams, by Samuel Hugh Brockunier, is a well-organized book in which the activities of the founder of Rhode Island are set forth by a writer who mastered his material and its implications before beginning the task of composition. Thanks to that fact we have a biography in which the core of the matter is placed before us in a straightforward, orderly, uncluttered narrative, an admirable synthesis of a body of material available for generations and studied by many persons from many points of view.

Mr. Brockunier's emphasis has been upon the deeds of Roger Williams rather than upon his words, upon Williams the practical administrator struggling to keep alive that "humble experiment in a more generous fellowship" which represented his "distillation of the best in the great English revolutionary movement." Instead of transferring to his pages long and cumbersome quotations from *The Bloudy Tenent* and other works, the author has assimilated the social and political theories pro-

pounded in Williams's writings and shown them to us in practical operation. He has avoided an extended analysis of religious ideas, but has made it clear that the political ideal which Williams sought to bring into being had its origin and its strength in that respect for the dignity of the human personality from which arose also his doctrine of liberty of conscience.

There emerges from Mr. Brockunier's study the picture of the Providence Plantations as the most fortuitous of the American colonies, a community experiencing both the advantages and disadvantages of a hastily chosen refuge established with the minimum of previous planning as to land tenure, or legislative and judicial functions. It had no charter, no constitution, no legal standing, and because it must build a state from the ground up, its early history is of extraordinary interest. The hero of that drama, Mr. Brockunier makes clear once more, was Roger Williams the man of tolerance, not Samuel Gorton the leveller, or William Harris, the representative of a policy of enlightened self-interest. The problems that shook and almost disrupted that infant state become comprehensible to Mr. Brockunier's readers because the author himself has so well understood them.

Mr. Brockunier has been drawn to the study of Williams by his admiration of him as the democrat in action. He feels, as most of us do, that his insistence upon an equitable distribution of the free lands, his simplification of governmental processes, and his erection of religious toleration to the dignity of a principle of government were noble contributions to practical American politics, and he applauds, as all of us must, the absence of all thought of self-aggrandizement in his plans and actions. He sees Williams as one who "conceived of a reconciliation of property and democracy through a wide distribution of wealth and continuous adjustment of political functions to the great end of 'the commonweale'." There are many minor points within this generalized statement upon which one conceivably may differ from Mr. Brockunier, but there can be no quarrel with his interpretation of the purpose and achievement of Williams as summarized in his admirable concluding chapter.

Though I am in agreement with Mr. Brockunier's evaluation of Williams's achievement and his interpretation of his actions, I find myself, in reading, continuously at odds with him as to their motivation. Although he never says directly that Williams was moved to his equalitarian policies by resentment against the upper ranks of society, the string of class feeling is so persistently plucked throughout the book that one is justified in the belief that such an inference is intended. He tells us that there was a great deal of snobbishness at Cambridge when Williams was there as a student and that no doubt his "spirit rankled inwardly when he found himself patronized or openly snubbed." No doubt it did. It is the common lot of all men—rich and poor, emperor and horse-holder—to encounter inso-

lence here and there as they go through life. Actually Williams's position at Cambridge was good. His mother was of the lesser gentry by birth and upbringing, his father was a member of a London merchant guild, his patron was the foremost lawyer of the times, and his rank on the college rolls was that of pensioner. There is absolutely no reason to suppose that at college or elsewhere he was snubbed oftener or more cruelly than is the common lot. When he left Cambridge as a young minister in the Church of England, he went into the house of Sir William Masham, where he came in touch with many members of the great Puritan families and won their approval and friendship. In later years it was his friendship with Cromwell, Sir Henry Vane, and others of high Parliamentary position which made him an effective agent for Rhode Island when charters were to be obtained and enemies to be refuted. It is true that Lady Joan Barrington, mother of Lady Masham, denied him the hand in marriage of her niece and ward, but that may well have been because of his financial insecurity and his eccentric refusal to settle down to a good living rather than because of dissatisfaction with his birth and position. That disagreement was soon made up, and years later Williams inscribed a copy of his *Key* to Lady Judith Barrington, daughter-in-law of Lady Joan, in words of respect and affection. Mr. Brockunier suggests that this contretemps with regard to the proposal, which, by the way, had been made with the consent and approval of Sir William and Lady Masham, may have had influence in turning Williams towards democratic courses, but I believe he has failed in this instance to study the order of events in the young man's life. It is perfectly obvious that when, a few weeks later, he told Cotton and Hooker that, on scriptural grounds, he could no longer join with them in the use of the Book of Common Prayer, he was announcing a conclusion reached through many months, years even, of reflection upon the ecclesiastical system of which he was a part. That decision was his first and most important step upon the path he thenceforth followed.

Williams, it seems to me, was the champion of mankind rather than of the common man. I like to think that this championship came into being from a warm benevolence of nature rather than from resentment against the class which protected him in his youth and with which he voluntarily associated himself on his visits to England and in his eager correspondence in this country with the Winthrops. I like my heroes to be of heroic mould; I want my liberals to be moved to action by the large qualities of love and reason rather than by prejudice and resentment. I believe that Roger Williams was one of those so moved, and that to suggest spleen and injured vanity as the source of his passion for the creation of a better world is to belittle him without warrant.

LAWRENCE C. WROTH

John Carter Brown Library

Thomas Tefft, Progressive Rhode Islander

BARBARA WRISTON

As the eighteenth century saw the coalition of the American colonies into one country so the nineteenth saw the new country reaching out for power, trade expansion, and new cultural relations.

Thomas Alexander Tefft lived during the nineteenth century and represented these changes. He was born in Richmond, Rhode Island in 1826. Henry Barnard, Commissioner of Education for Rhode Island persuaded him to come to Providence and enter Brown, with the class of 1851. In college Tefft was described as "slender . . . and of medium height," with an oval face, fair complexion and light brown hair. "His manner was marked by a certain degree of independence, and his . . . bearing was of one who had made up his mind to succeed in whatever he undertook."

Employed by the Providence architectural and construction firm of Tallman and Bucklin,¹ during his college career, he was encouraged to submit his own designs. The variety of Tefft's styles, illustrates how the artists were reaching out to many cultures for inspiration.²

Besides being a well known architect, he was also one of the most enthusiastic proponents of universal currency.

¹ William Tallman, a builder and dealer in lumber founded a partnership in 1822 with James C. Bucklin, a leading exponent of the Greek revival in Rhode Island. Bucklin designed the Westminster side of the Arcade (1828), Manning Hall, Brown University (1833), and the Cabinet of the Rhode Island Historical Society (1844).

After Tefft had opened an office for himself, Tallman and Bucklin continued to construct the buildings he designed.

² Among the buildings Tefft designed were the Union Passenger Depot (1848, no longer standing), the Central Congregational Church (1852, now Memorial Hall), and the old Central Baptist Church (1857, demolished). For details on Tefft's architecture see Henry Russell Hitchcock, *Rhode Island Architecture*, and also Volume 28, No. 2 of the *Bulletin* of the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, *The Architecture of Thomas Tefft*, by Barbara Wriston.

On a trip to Europe, Tefft made outstanding contributions. His paper read before a group of interested men in Liverpool, gained him a hearing from the leading British economists and opened the columns of the English press to his articles. This paper entitled *Universal Currency on the Decimal System*, (1858), was translated into several foreign languages and attracted wide attention. Had he lived his influence might have been more effective, but today only his careful notebooks, preserved in the Rhode Island Historical Society, remain as testimony of his interest.

Industrial art education had a share in his trip to Europe for Barnard made him Commissioner of Industrial Art Education from Rhode Island to Europe in 1856. In his last letter, written from Geneva, he said:

"I well know that my future is to be one of labor. I mean that our country shall enjoy facilities in art education which no country possesses, and before this can be accomplished much must be done."

Tefft's death in Florence in 1859, prevented completion of his elaborate report; hence the program was dropped in Rhode Island, allowing Massachusetts to lead the way in that field.

Thomas Tefft was typical of his times — deeply influenced by Europe, but confident in the future of America; feeling that it should find its own forms of expression. To use his own words:

"In building our houses . . . let us think for ourselves . . . In Switzerland and Germany the cottage or farm building . . . appear as if it was worked out to suit its particular place, therefore each is different and full of interest."

He wanted to make the United States a decisive influence in art and economics. This feeling is well expressed by what Professor George W. Greene said of him: "Progress was an essential element of his intellectual nature . . . eager for improvement, and still confident that it was within his reach." It was his belief that we could learn from the past but that we should adapt the old to the new, rather than build slavish imitations of historical buildings without meaning for nineteenth century society.

Rhode Island Historical Society

Treasurer's Report

INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1940

Balance December 31, 1939	\$713.77
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RECEIPTS

Annual Dues	2,384.88*
Dividends and Interest	3,111.57
Rental of Rooms	100.00
State Appropriation	1,625.00
	\$7,935.22

EXPENDITURES

Binding	\$30.08
Books	181.57
Electric Light and Gas	79.53
Lectures	126.97
Expense	116.64
Grounds and Building	43.97
Heating	700.00
Newspaper	1.51
Publications	476.23
Salaries	4,890.00
Supplies	336.07
Telephone	68.46
Water	8.00
	\$7,059.03
Balance December 31, 1940.....	876.19
	\$7,935.22

*79 Members paid dues in 1940 for 1941, \$395.00

STATEMENT OF CONDITION, DECEMBER 31, 1940

ASSETS

Grounds and Building \$25,000.00

Bonds

\$3,000. Commonwealth Edison $3\frac{1}{2}$ s, 1968... \$3,274.46
 3,000. Consol. Gas Co. of N. Y. $3\frac{1}{2}$ s, 1946 3,131.25
 3,000. Continental Oil of Del. $2\frac{3}{4}$ s, 1948 3,263.21
 4,000. Dominion of Gov. of Canada, 5s, 1952 4,003.91
 1,000. Duquesne Lt. Co., 1st Mtge., $3\frac{1}{2}$ s, 1965 1,069.76
 2,000. Narra. Elec. Co., 1st Mtge., $3\frac{1}{2}$ s, 1966 2,250.36
 500. N. Y. Cen. Railroad Co., $3\frac{1}{4}$ s, 1952 509.39
 2,000. N. Y. St'm Corp. 1st Mtge., $3\frac{1}{2}$ s, 1963 2,209.19
 3,000. Pacific Gas and Electric $3\frac{3}{4}$ s, 1961 3,338.21
 1,000. Pennsylvania Railroad Deb. $4\frac{1}{2}$ s, 1970 922.50
 500. Pennsylvania R. R. Co. $3\frac{1}{4}$ s, 1952 500.00
 2,000. Phillips Petroleum 3s, 1948 2,200.49
 1,000. Potomac Edison Co., $4\frac{1}{2}$ s, 1961 1,092.82

Stocks

10 shs. Allied Chemical & Dye Corp. 1,732.15
 70 shs. American Tel. & Tel. Co. 6,591.72
 12 shs. Appalachian Elec. Power Co., $4\frac{1}{2}$ s, Pfd. 1,274.85
 40 shs. Bankers Trust Co., of N. Y. 2,615.00
 45 shs. Blackstone Canal National Bank 1,050.00
 10 shs. E'Dupont de Nemours and Co., Com. 1,489.25
 40 shs. Consolidated Edison Pfd. 4,172.80
 2 shs. Guaranty Trust Co. of N. Y. 706.00
 30 shs. International Nickel Co. of Canada 1,064.48
 350 shs. Providence Gas Co. 5,755.68
 15 shs. Providence National Bank 1,508.22
 25 shs. Narragansett Electric Co., $4\frac{1}{2}$ s, Pfd. 1,381.25
 35 shs. Public Service Co., of N. J., 5% Pfd. 3,327.62
 10 shs. Public Ser. Co. of N. J., 5% cum. Pfd. 990.00
 25 shs. Standard Oil Co. of N. J. 1,196.04
 25 shs. Texas Corp. 1,096.98
 12 shs. U. S. Steel Corp. Pfd. 1,547.82
 10 shs. Westinghouse Electric 1,137.08
 Savings Account, R. I. Hospital Trust Co. 1,491.38

67,883.88

Cash on hand 1,988.75

\$94,872.63

Petty Cash 25.00

\$94,897.63

LIABILITIES	
Equipment Fund	\$25,000.00
Permanent Endowment Funds	56,858.52
Publication Funds	6,600.00
Life Memberships	5,600.00
Book Fund	3,012.41
Reserve Fund	860.11
Revolving Publication Fund.....	277.45
Balance December 31, 1940	876.19
	<hr/>
	\$99,084.68
Gain Loss and Premium Fund	4,187.05 O.D.
	<hr/>
	\$94,897.63

January, 1941

ROBERT T. DOWNS, *Treasurer*.

The accounts of the Society were audited by Harris & Gifford under the direction of the Audit Committee, John H. Wells, Chairman.



THE function of a local historical society is to collect, preserve and make available for public use books, manuscripts, newspapers and current notices, revealing every phase of the past and present life of all the people in the community which it serves.

This is particularly vital in periods of economic and social change like the present.

In Rhode Island, a rounded collection comprises complete files of local newspapers, publications of all native authors, books, referring to the region and its people, histories, statistical records, critiques, the biographies of residents and genealogies of families.

Clarence S. Brigham, *Director*
American Antiquarian Society.



OLD CENTRAL BAPTIST CHURCH, PROVIDENCE
DESIGNED BY THOMAS TEFFT, BUILT IN 1857.

Courtesy of Museum of Art, Providence

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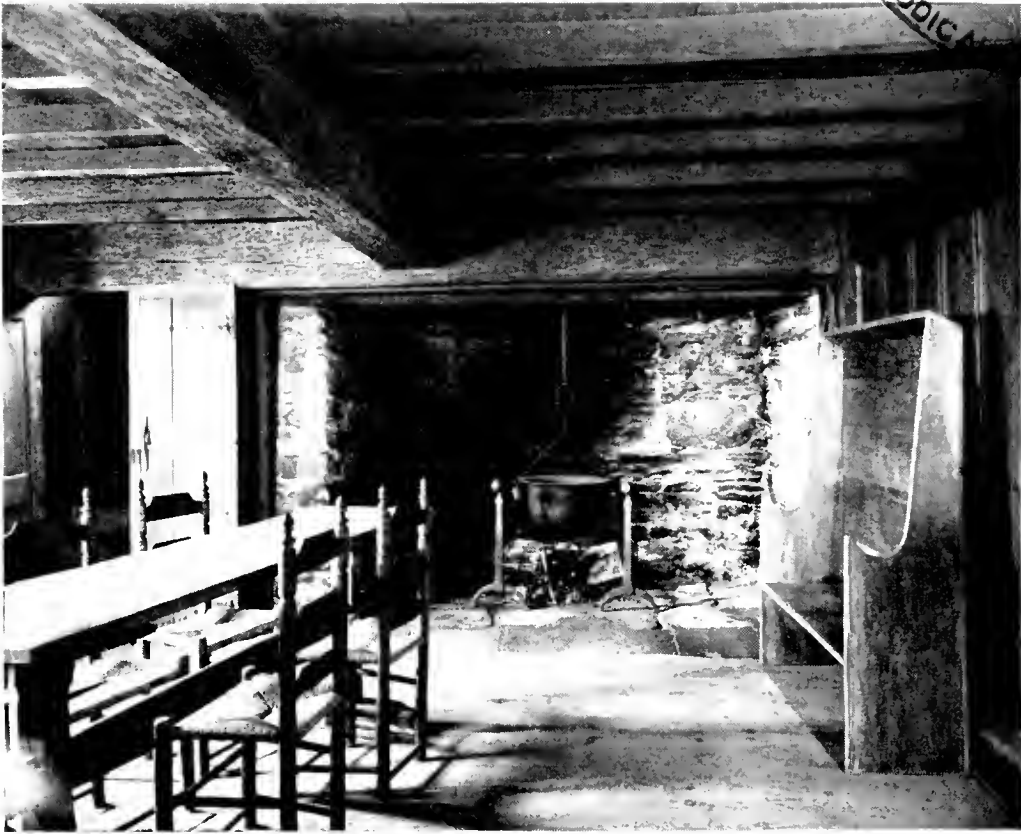
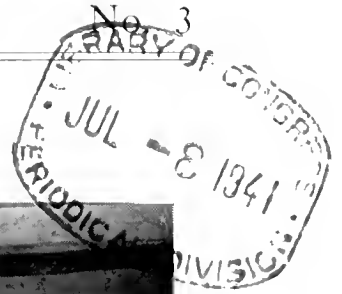
*Former Member

30439

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

Vol. XXXIV

JULY, 1941



STONE FIREPLACE, THOMAS CLEMENCE HOUSE (C. 1680), JOHNSTON, R. I.
DIMENSIONS: 9 FEET WIDE, 3½ DEEP, 6 FEET HIGH.

Issued Quarterly

68 WATERMAN STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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RHODE
HISTORICAL



ISLAND
SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXXIV

JULY, 1941

No. 3

CHARLES F. STEARNS, *President*
WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER, *Secretary*

ROBERT T. DOWNS, *Treasurer*
WILLIAM G. ROELKER, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

The Thomas Clemence House (c. 1680)

38 George Waterman Road, Johnston, R. I.

by JOHN HUTCHINS CADY, F.A.I.A.*

The visible evidences of antiquity in a community originating in Colonial days are its ancient buildings. As links connecting the past with the present they are tangible historic assets whose preservation is a matter of importance. Many structures of the Colonial and early Republican periods are standing in Rhode Island. Some have endured with little or no change, or have been restored to their original state; some have been enlarged and modernized and, in the rehabilitation process, have lost some of their intrinsic charm; others are in various stages of disrepair, and are threatened with destruction.

An accurate restoration of the earliest form of Rhode Island structure, namely, a seventeenth century frame dwelling of the stone-end type, is an event of historic significance in these plantations. Three factors are neces-

* Mr. Cady was associated with Mr. Norman M. Isham in the recent restoration of the house.—Ed.

sary for the success of such a project; first, a house built before 1700 must be found, and they are scarce in Rhode Island; second, funds must be provided for a purely historic purpose, since the restored house would not be adaptable as a modern dwelling; and, third, the work must be supervised and executed by persons who have a technical knowledge of early American buildings and types of construction.

The fortunate conjunction of these three factors made possible the restoration of the Thomas Clemence house on George Waterman Road, Johnston, as an authentic example of an early Rhode Island dwelling. Built about 1680 on land then in Providence and, since 1759, incorporated in the town of Johnston, the house passed through various hands until it was purchased, in 1938, by some friends of old houses. They delegated its restoration to Mr. Norman M. Isham, F. A. I. A., Rhode Island's leading exponent of Colonial architecture,¹ under whose supervision the reconstruction work was done by Mr. Joseph H. Bullock of Wickford, a specialist in early building methods.

During its successive ownerships the house had been enlarged, altered, and otherwise "improved" to such a degree that little remained of its first appearance save the stone-end chimney (figures 1 and 2). Reconstruction work began with the removal of everything that was not original: the roof and wall coverings; the doors, windows, and dormer; the inside partitions; a one-story room at the



FIGURE 1

STONE CHIMNEY, THOMAS CLEMENCE HOUSE, BEFORE RESTORATION IN 1938.

¹ *Early Rhode Island Houses*, by Norman M. Isham and Albert F. Brown, (published Providence, 1895), is the most reliable source of information with respect to seventeenth century architecture in the state.

east end with a corner fireplace, used as a parlor; a large story-and-a-half leanto at the rear (a replacement of the original leanto), containing a kitchen, bath room, and rear stair hall in the first story and two bed rooms in the second; a one-story ell at the northwest corner; and a front hall and porch at the southwest corner, the former having a stairway in replacement of the original winding stairs.

Portions of the work removed were of considerable antiquity and were of interest in reflecting changing trends and tastes in house planning and decoration. The brick oven, adjoining the kitchen fireplace, was an early manifestation of "modern" kitchen design. The vaulted plaster ceiling of the northwest ell provided a contrast with the rectangular lines of the other rooms. Removal of the hand made laths and plaster, covered by numerous layers of wall paper, from the original walls and partitions revealed fragments of an early wall paper of great beauty, possibly an English importation, which had been laid directly on the old wood sheathing. A large part of the original framing was found to be in excellent condition and, when laid bare, disclosed significant clues to the dwelling's original state which were important guides to its restoration. The great stone "hall" fireplace, when freed of its added encumbrances, was found, fortunately, to be intact. While more than half of the materials comprising the house, as finally restored, are new, the design and construction follow authentic seventeenth century traditions (see figure 3).

The stone-end houses erected in Providence before the Indian war (1676) usually were a story and a half high, containing a single room with a large fireplace in one end in the first story and a chamber in the garret. Most of them were burned by the Indians. When the town was rebuilt the dwellings were larger, some with an extra story and many having leantos in the rear. The stone chimney continued for another quarter century as a dominant feature and frequently contained two fireplaces, the smaller one serving the kitchen in the leanto.



FIGURE 2 THOMAS CLEMENCE HOUSE AS IT APPEARED C. 1870.



FIGURE 3 THOMAS CLEMENCE HOUSE AS NOW RESTORED.

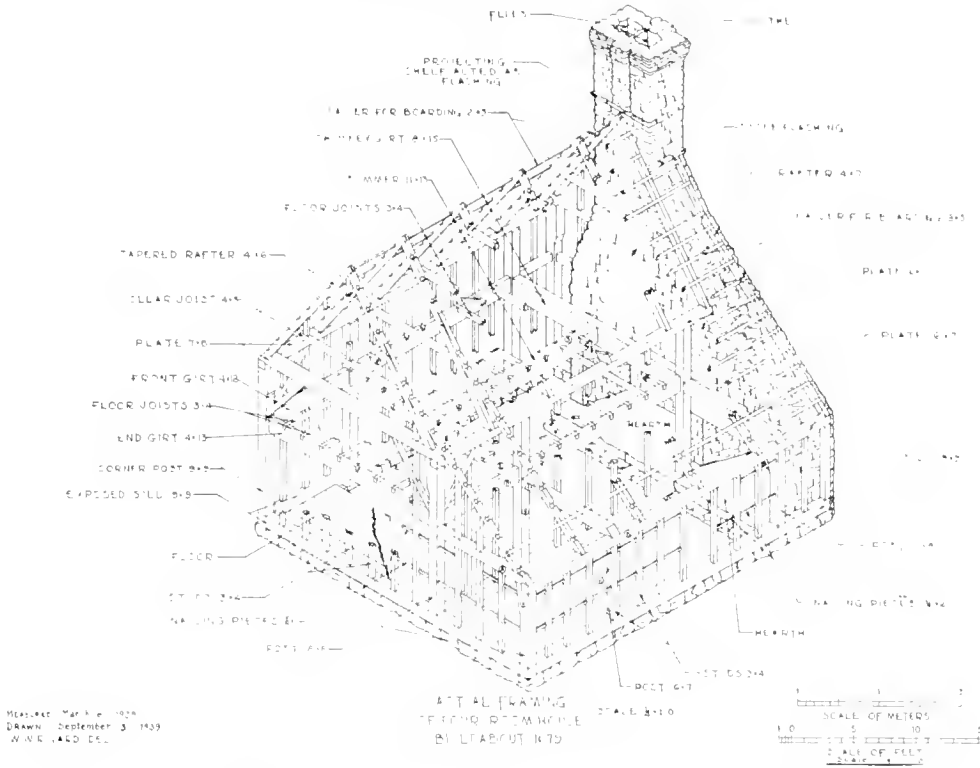


FIGURE 4 THOMAS CLEMENCE HOUSE. DRAWING OF FRAMING REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF THE HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY.

The Clemence house is of the post-war period. It is rectangular in plan, a story and a half high, with a steep gable roof which extends over the rear leanto portion at a slightly reduced pitch.² The main entrance door opens into the "hall," fifteen feet square, at the left of which is the stone fireplace (illustrated on cover), nine feet wide, three feet and a half deep, and six feet high. On the right of the entrance a door leads to the principal bed room whose area is about fifteen by seven feet. Opposite the main entrance another door opens into the reconstructed leanto comprising a kitchen and a small bed room, each eight feet in width, a stone fireplace in the kitchen flanking the one in the hall. A reconstructed flight of winding stairs

² Compare the gable ends in figures 2 and 3. In the former a larger leanto had been added, starting from the roof peak. In the latter the earlier leanto is restored (figure 4), authority for which was a sawed-off section of an original rafter several feet below the roof ridge.

at the left of the hall fireplace leads to a chamber, over which the roof beams are exposed. The house has a cellar which is entered by steps cut from solid blocks of wood beneath a trap door in the kitchen floor.

The framing (figure 4) is composed of oak sills, posts, and girts, with a "summer"³ carried across the center of the hall, all mortised and tenoned and secured with wooden pins, and having chamfered edges. The sills are laid on top of the floor joists and must be stepped over in passing through the outside doorways. The small garret floor joists are exposed in the first story ceilings. Unlike most other houses erected during that period in Providence and vicinity the walls are studded,⁴—a method of construction then common in Newport and the Massachusetts and Connecticut colonies. The rafters are widely spaced and are joined by small horizontal ribs, eighteen inches on centers, set flush with the tops of the rafters, and to those ribs the long shingles are nailed.⁵

The exterior wall studs are sheathed with boards and covered with narrow clapboards. Each outside door is made of three thicknesses of planking, secured together by knob-headed nails. The windows are casements and are glazed with diamond-shaped panes of leaded glass.⁶ The interior walls and doors are sheathed with wide vertical boards, with beveled and beaded mouldings worked along the edges. Pine boards nearly two feet in width cover the floors.

³ "The heavy beam which crosses the ceiling of a room from girt to girt and carries the joists of the floor above." Norman M. Isham, *A Glossary of Colonial Architectural Terms*, a publication of The Walpole Society (New York, 1939).

⁴ The use of studs for wall construction in frame houses did not become common in Providence until the nineteenth century. Before then the walls usually were composed of vertical boards, nailed to the heavy frame, and lined on the outside with clapboards or shingles.

⁵ The ribs are identified in figure 4 as "nailers for boarding."

⁶ These are similar to a fragment of a leaded glass window from the Arthur Fenner house (1655) in the R. I. H. S. collection.

Thomas Clemence, an Englishman, settled in Providence as early as 1645, as evidenced by his signature to a compact, dated the 19th of the 11th month of that year, by which the subscribers, in return for the grant of twenty-five acres of land each, promised "to yield Active; or passive Obedyence, to the Authority of King, & parliament, established in this Collonye" ⁷ He was a friend of Roger Williams and a cousin of Gregory Dexter, ⁸ the printer, with whom he may have journeyed to Providence from England.

While most of the early Providence settlers lived on the Towne street⁹ and waded across the river at low tide to their agricultural lands "on Weybosset side," ¹⁰ Clemence had a preference for country life. Accordingly, he purchased a five-acre lot from Thomas Harris in 1647, ¹¹ located near the mouth of Woonasquatucket river where it flowed into the great salt cove or "sea", ¹² and there

⁷ *Early Records*, 2, 29.

⁸ Roger Williams, when in England in 1652, wrote from the home of Sir Henry Vane at Whitehall to Gregory Dexter at Providence: "My Love to yo'r Cozen Clements . . ." *Ibid*, 15, 62.

⁹ The present North Main and South Main streets.

¹⁰ The wading place was from Steeple Street to Washington Row (Hospital Trust Bldg.). The first bridge across the river was built in 1660 and removed, or washed away, about 1675. Not until 1710 was the next bridge erected at the location of Market Square.

¹¹ "The 7th of the 12th m. 1647 (called). Thomas Harris sold unto Thomas Clemence his five acres of land adjoyning to Thomas Angels, over against the Towne." *Early Records*, 2, 8.

"Januarey the 27 1648. Thomas Angell of Providence sold unto James Mattason a five acre lott lieing on the East Side of the land which Thomas Clement now livith upon bounded on the East with the land of Benedick Arnold on the North with the Sea as is manefested by a deede under his hande." *Ibid*, 2, 21.

Clemence also purchased of William Carpenter, in 1648, a "percell of land to the value of 5 acres more or lesse the which land lieth on the south side of the river Called wanasquatucket," this being a short distance up the river from his house. Cf. *Early Records*, 2, 21 and Charles W. Hopkins, *Home Lots of the Early Settlers* (Providence, 1886), 64.

¹² The tidewater cove originally covered the area between Exchange Place and the State House grounds, extending from Canal Street west-

erected his first dwelling¹³ where, presumably, he resided with his wife Elizabeth.¹⁴ In the levy of September 2, 1650, he was taxed to the amount of six shillings eight-pence.¹⁵

On January 9, 1654, Clemence purchased of an Indian named Wissowyamake a "medow Containing about 8 Akers mor or lese a broke [brook] at each End and a hille on the weaste sid of it and wenasbetuckit [Woonasquatucket] river on the other sid of it."¹⁶ A town record (without date) describes the purchase as containing "five Acors of meddow lieing on the South West Side of wanasquatuckett River about a mile Northwest from the place Comonly Called Venter,¹⁷ Bounded on the West with a hill, on the East with Wanasquatuckett River; on the North with a Small Streame, and on the South, with a Small Streame: this land being purchased by the Saide Tho Clement of the Indeans."¹⁸ The bounds define the general locality of the present house.¹⁹

ward to the mouth of Woonasquatucket river near Acorn Street. In 1846 work was commenced on the construction of an elliptical cove basin, surrounded by a retaining wall, outside of which the easterly cove lands were filled. The cove basin was removed, 1889-1898, retaining walls were built for Woonasquatucket and Moshassuck river canals, and the remainder of the cove lands were filled.

¹³ The spot probably was near the present Nicholson File Company plant.

¹⁴ They had four children: Richard, Thomas Jr., Elizabeth, and Content. Richard's eldest child Sarah was born in 1668, indicating that her grandparents were married at least twenty-one years earlier.

¹⁵ *Early Records*, 15, 33.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 1, 20.

¹⁷ "Venter: a name formerly given to a brook flowing into the Woonasquatucket river directly north of the present village of Merino in the town of Johnston, as well as to the meadows north of the brook and to the general locality." *Seventeenth Century Place-names, 1693-1700*, comp. by Clarence S. Brigham (Providence, 1903).

¹⁸ *Early Records*, 2, 36.

¹⁹ Inasmuch as the house is located about 2000 feet from the river the extent of the estate on which it was erected, as defined by the bounds, would comprise over 20 acres. It appears, therefore, that additional land

In succeeding years Clemence, by town grant or purchase, increased his two estates above mentioned, and acquired additional lands at Pawtuxet, Mashapaug (Elmwood), Gotham (Olneyville), Weybosset point (Turks Head), and other localities, some of which he subsequently sold.²⁰

Thomas Clemence took an active part in the affairs of the town. He was one of six "jurey men" chosen at the quarter court April 27, 1660.²¹ He was appointed "constable" in 1661²² and, while serving in that capacity, was ordered to "goe unto the Indians dwelling at pomecanssett,²³ And unto other Indians living neere this Towne; and warne them to Take som Course with theire Dogges, to Keep them from falling upon the Inglish Cattell . . ."²⁴ He was chosen to represent the town of Providence at a Court of Commissioners at Portsmouth in October, 1663, and at a Court of Deputies at Newport in March, 1665 and March, 1671.²⁵ In 1667 he was chosen town treasurer²⁶ and in the same year was named to serve on the petty jury at the Court of Trials.²⁷

was acquired before the house was built. The boundary designated as "a hill" is vague, as the land rises gradually from Woonasquatucket river to a height of 300 feet about a mile to the west. That elevation was known as Ossapimsuck hill and was the site of an Indian corn field through which an Indian path led to Connecticut. (H. R. Chace, "Our Oldest House," *Providence Journal*, March 20, 1910.) The southern brook, flowing nearby the Clemence house, is identified on the Caleb Harris map of 1795 as Assapumpset [Ossapimsuck].

²⁰ *Early Records*, 1, 8; 2, 34; 3, 246; 14, 54, 66, 109, 149, 185; 20, 282.

²¹ *Ibid*, 2, 126.

²² *Ibid*, 3, 5.

²³ "Pomecansett: the neck of land between the present Fields Point and Sassafras Point," Brigham: *op. cit.* Now the location of the municipal dock and sewage disposal plant.

²⁴ *Early Records*, 3, 7.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 3, 40, 71, 219.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 3, 103.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 3, 109.

When most of the citizens removed with their families and effects to Newport in 1676, to escape the dangers of the Indian war, Clemence was one of twenty-seven men who "staid and went not away."²⁸ The house in which he was then living, like most others in the town, was destroyed by the Indians. That was ill payment for his acts of kindness to them, as reflected in a letter written by Roger Williams²⁹ October 16, 1676, stating that "two Indian children were brought to me by one Thomas Clements, who had his house burnt on the other side of the river."³⁰ He was in his orchard, and two Indian children came boldly

²⁸ *Ibid*, 8, 12.

²⁹ The letter was written from Providence and addressed "To the much honored the Governor Leverett, at Boston, or the Governor Winslow, at Boston, present." J. R. Bartlett: *The letters of Roger Williams*, Publications of the Narragansett Club, (Providence, 1874), VI, 385.

³⁰ The location of the house that was burnt is, at this writing, a matter of speculation. Clemence is known to have resided in two houses, one erected c. 1647 on the south shore of the cove, near the mouth of Woonasquatucket river (identified, for convenience, as site A) and the other built c. 1680 and constituting the subject matter of this paper (site B). He owned, among numerous other lands, a lot near the western end of the town bridge in 1666 (*Early Records*, 20, 282), in the vicinity of the present Turks Head, and may have erected, and dwelt in, a house there (site C). He is known to have been in residence at site A in 1670 and 1680 (*Early Records*, 3, 155; 14, 54), and at site B in 1686 (*Early Records*, 14, 149). Where was he living in 1676 when his house was burnt? Probably not at site A for he would not be apt to rebuild at that site after the fire and shortly afterwards erect a house at site B. He may have built an earlier house at site B and resided there in 1676; the chimney of the present house may even be the original stack, salvaged from the fire. That is a reasonable and a traditional theory, although unsupported by documentary evidence, and would explain Clemence's return to site A during construction of his new dwelling at site B. A still more likely conjecture, also unsupported by records, would identify the location of the burnt house at site C near the town bridge, "on the other side of the river" from William Field's house (the present 50 South Main Street), where the citizens who "staid and went not away" were garrisoned during the attack by the Indians.

to him. . . . The boy tells me, that a youth, one Mittonan, brought them to the sight of Thomas Clements, and bid them go to that man, and he would give them bread . . .”

After suffering the destruction of his house in March, 1676, Clemence was saddened, a few months later, by the death of his son, Thomas Junior, “in ye flowre of his youth.”³¹ In spite of these adversities, and his advancing years, he commenced the erection of a new dwelling about 1680, the one recently restored. His neighbors were the Mantons, Olneys, Angells and Smiths who dwelt on large nearby farms.³² The tax list of 1684 records a levy of five shillings sixpence against Thomas Clemence and two shillings against his son Richard.³³

Thomas Clemence died in 1688, and the inventory of his estate showed a valuation of thirty-eight pounds and four shillings. His property passed to Richard Clemence,³⁴ administrator of his estate, who had married, some twenty years previously, Sarah Smith, a descendant of John Smith, the town’s first miller. By later purchases Richard increased the area of the farm to about three hundred acres. In 1703 a highway was stated through a portion of the Clemence farm and over Ossapimsuck hill;³⁵ it became the road to Killingly in 1728³⁶ and is now identified as the Greenville road.

Richard Clemence died in 1723 and bequeathed to his eldest son Thomas all his “Lands meadows and Tenements scituate Lieing and being Within the Towne ship of Providence afores’d and on both sides of the River called Wonasquotuckett River being all my Homestead and Lands adjoyning”³⁷ An inventory of his estate, taken October

³¹ *Early Records*, 8, 14.

³² Chace, *loc. cit.*

³³ *Early Records*, 17, 44, 46.

³⁴ Thomas Clemence previously, in 1681, had deeded to Richard his farm comprising 60 acres of upland and meadow, *Deed Book*, 9, 81-82.

³⁵ *Early Records*, 5, 134.

³⁶ *Ibid*, 9, 49.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 16, 292.

24, 1723, showed a total valuation of £340-13s-10d.³⁸

In 1744 Thomas Clemence the younger (born 1693) agreed to sell the farm to John Angell, and gave him a deed to the property the following year. Subsequently Angell entered suit against Clemence, and was awarded a verdict, for three hundred acres of arable, pasture, wood, orchard, and meadow land, together with the dwelling house, barn, shop, and crib.³⁹ Neither John Angell nor his son James, who succeeded to his estate, dwelt permanently on the former Clemence farm.⁴⁰ James Angell married Mary Mawney, daughter of Colonel Peter and Mary Tillinghast Mawney of Frenchtown. Their children, who inherited the property, transferred the farm to Jacob Whitman Jr., in trust for Abigail, one of their number and wife of William Goddard,⁴¹ first publisher of the *Providence Gazette*. The Goddards lived in the homestead after 1792 and it was there that Professor William Giles Goddard (1794-1846) of Brown University was born. When a highway was constructed through the farm from the Killingly road to the Putnam pike it was named Goddard road in his honor. Later it was changed to George Waterman road.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 16, 295. Among the items of the inventory were the following: "Money scales and weights and seaven sheets and a pillow beere and table Lining and two Chests and a Trunk and woollen and tow yearne . . . a feather Beed Bedstead and furniture . . . three Beeds and Bedsteads and furniture . . . two warming pans and three Bottles and a Lanthorn and a Trunk and three pound and a halfe of woll and a bell and sum fethers and six sickels . . . a feather bed Bedstead and furniture . . . puter and Brass and Iron vessels . . . Andirons and tramels and fire shovels and tongs and a Gridiron and a pan and a Gun and stillards [scales] . . . a saddle and bridle and Tables stooles and Chears . . ."

³⁹ Chace, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ John Angell's house and shop were located at the present southwest corner of North Main and Steeple streets; he distilled rum on the site where the First Baptist Meeting House afterwards was erected (1775). His son, Brigadier General James Angell, town clerk 1758-1775, dwelt on an estate at "Weybosset Plains" where Westminster and Knight streets now intersect. Chace, *loc. cit.*

⁴¹ William Goddard founded the *Providence Gazette* (1763), which he published until 1767, when it was taken over by his mother, Sarah Goddard, in association with John Carter. Goddard removed to New

The farm, having been owned, successively, by three generations of Clemences and three generations of Angells, was sold December 18, 1826, by Abigail Goddard and her children to Elder Stephen Sweet⁴² who resided in the homestead with his wife Phebe and their children. He laid out a small tract as a family burial place about five hundred feet east of Goddard road. Following the death (1854) of Stephen Sweet the farm was partitioned, May 15, 1855, among his several heirs at law, in which division his daughter, Sarah Manton, wife of Amasa Irons, became possessed of the homestead, barns, and other buildings, and about fifteen acres of land extending easterly to Woonasquatucket river. By a further division in 1892 Ellen E. Irons acquired the homestead lot west of Goddard (George Waterman) road and dwelt in the house until her death, a short time previous to its sale in 1938.

Following the restoration of the house the various out-buildings were removed, the old well curb was restored, and the grounds were graded and improved. The house, with its replicas of seventeenth century furniture, now stands as the most authentic restoration in Providence County of an early Rhode Island dwelling.

York, and later to Baltimore where he continued his newspaper work. He married Abigail Angell in 1786 and returned to Providence in 1792. Cf. Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1922), pp. 119-146 and W. Bird Terwilliger, "William Goddard's Victory for the Freedom of the Press," *The Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVI, pp. 139-149.

⁴² The land conveyed to Elder Sweet, as defined in the deed of sale, was bounded "southerly on the great road so-called [the present Greenville road] in Johnston . . . and by land belonging to William Manton to the middle of the Woonasquatucket River, easterly by the middle of the River . . . northerly on land belonging to [Isaac] Arnold and Nathaniel Angell . . . and westerly on lands belonging to said Town of Johnston, Charles Ceasar, Benjamin Sweet and Jeremiah Manton . . . excepting . . . the lands contained therein which Zachariah Allen has purchased . . . [8¾ acres] . . . and excepting further all lands . . . flowed by the Lyman Mfg. Co. by force . . . of an agreement made . . . January 14, 1809. The premises hereby conveyed containing about 355 acres more or less and together with the lands contained in the exceptions aforesaid is the same farm more or less which belonged to William Goddard deceased and said Abigail Goddard at the time of his decease."



JUDITH PAUL'S SAMPLER (1791) IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE
RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Judith Paul's Sampler (1791)

BY GERTRUDE TOWNSEND*

Among the samplers in the *Exhibition of New England Embroideries before 1800* recently held in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, were several characteristic examples of Rhode Island needlework. Judith Paul's sampler, one of the most pleasing, is illustrated on the opposite page.

While the workmanship is not of the finest quality the sampler is well planned and executed in an effective manner. The ground material is a light neutral brown linen with a rather open weave. The design is charmingly worked in crimson, pink, blue, bluish green, neutral yellow, brown, black and cream white, the pupil using cross, tent, Roumanian or Oriental, satin, stem and rococo stitches.

The small number of 17th century New England samplers which survive suggests that comparatively few were made in colonial homes, from want of leisure or inclination. Of the two English types, one — which went out of fashion by 1650 — was a piece of linen without formal plan, on which an irregular scattering of detached designs, flowers, fruit, animals, insects and portions of small-scale all-over patterns was worked. The other type was a narrow strip of linen decorated with horizontal bands of embroidery or lace containing floral or geometric figures, the alphabet and Arabic numerals. These samplers served as records of patterns which could be used for ornamenting book-covers, purses, needle-cases, cushions and various articles intended for dress and household use.

Probably the earliest surviving New England sampler which bears witness to the continuance of the English traditions in needlework, was worked by Loara Standish (1623-53), daughter of Miles Standish.¹ At first glance

* Gertrude Townsend, Curator of Textiles, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is a recognized authority on all types of needle-work.—Ed.

¹ Now in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.

it appears to be characteristically English: a narrow strip of linen crossed by horizontal bands of ornament. However it contains one element which is seldom found in English samplers before the 18th century, the pious verse. After a series of decorative bands she worked "Loara Standish is my name" then these lines: "Lord guide my Heart that I may do thy Will || And fill my Heart with such convenient skill || As will conduce to Virtue void of shame || And I will give the Glory to Thy Name." Thus we see that when Judith Paul worked virtuous sentiments in her sampler she was following a custom established in New England about 150 years earlier.

Many of Judith Paul's stitches are found in 17th century English samplers, though she executed them with less care and with a greater interest in speed and effectiveness. In this she was following the general trend of 18th century New England embroidery. Since a sampler was important evidence of a young lady's education in the late 18th and early 19th centuries it is not surprising that many were worked in private finishing schools. Naturally the embroidery mistress's taste often influenced her pupil's work.

In *American Samplers*,² nine samplers made between 1782 and 1800 are attributed to pupils in Miss Polly Balch's Seminary³ in Providence, Judith Paul's among them. There is freedom, variety and individual character in these designs yet all have qualities in common which gives them a family resemblance.

It is a pity so little seems to be known about Miss Polly Balch apart from the fact that she kept a well known school. I hope that some day a letter or diary written by one of her pupils will tell us whether she herself taught needlework or whether it is to one of her teachers that some of the charm of Judith Paul's sampler is due.

² Ethel Stanwood Bolton and Eva Johnston Coe, *American Samplers* (Boston, 1921), a publication of the Massachusetts Society of the Colonial Dames of America, pp. 102, 366.

³ The first edition of *Providence City Directory* (1824) in the R. I. H. S. Collections gives the address of Miss Mary Balch's boarding school, 22 George Street.

President Messer and the Brown of 1819

MERRILL R. PATTERSON*

Sumner Lincoln Fairfield, a bombastic yet sensitive poet in the Miltonic tradition, was a student for the two years, 1818-20, at Brown University. He is of interest to the literary historian for three reasons: as a man who had wide and varied acquaintance with many important American literary figures of his time, as the founder and editor of *The North American Magazine*, and as one of the victims of Bulwer-Lytton's plagiarism. Bulwer in his *Last Days of Pompeii* took scenes, characters, and much of the story from Fairfield's poem *The Last Night of Pompeii*.¹

After the lapse of almost a century and a quarter, the violent reactions of the young poet to his college instructors and environment may afford some amusement. By disguising names and occasionally juggling facts, Fairfield hoped to escape detection, while at the same time he gave unbridled rein to his feelings.

The Providence that Fairfield saw in 1818 was far different from the busy, built-up city of today. The large area lying between Thayer Street, East Avenue, and the Seekonk River consisted at that time of unoccupied meadows and pastures. The students in the springtime walked through a rural Angell Street to the "Red Bridge." Samuel Brenton Shaw, Brown 1819, wrote: "The only houses then visible from the college in the above-named space were those of my father-in-law, Colonel Alexander Jones, Governor Fenner's and Moses Brown's . . . No other

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¹ See the author's article in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. VI, p. 258 for a fuller account of Fairfield's life. Fairfield was born June 25, 1803; died March 7, 1844.

street but Angell then led directly to the river. What is now Waterman street was chiefly a pasture for horses. A footpath led through it to Angell, which I travelled every Sunday, in going to St. John's Church.

"The only houses on Prospect street were those of Colonel Thomas Halsey and his son-in-law, Captain [John O.] Creighton [of the Navy]. From George street to Power, through Brown, the brick house then occupied by Mr. Moses Eddy was the only one erected on the latter, and on College street as far as Benefit the only house was that occupied by a Mr. [Edwin] Jenckes."²

As for the college itself, Shaw relates that Old University Hall and the Rev. Dr. Messer's barn were the only buildings on the campus, although the president's house was inside the "college grounds." The thrifty Dr. Messer kept both his grass and his feed bills low by allowing his horse and cow to roam at will in his front yard. "At that time [continues Shaw] there were one hundred students, all of whom slept and studied in the college, and most of them, except city students, took their meals there. The late Joseph Cady, the steward, provided for every want, and at the close of the term assessed the expense per week upon each student, which never exceeded \$1.40 . . . There was a vacation of two months from Christmas, to which many students were permitted to add another month, when, by keeping school, they earned enough to pay their board for the whole year."³

Into this atmosphere of stiff-collared professors and pastoral surroundings stepped the youthful Fairfield at four o'clock on a damp, foggy morning in October. Here mother and son separated for the first time, his mother's

² *Memories of Brown*, Providence, 1909, pp. 38-39. Editors: R. P. Brown, 1871; H. R. Palmer, 1890; Harry Lyman Koopman, Librarian; C. S. Brigham, 1899.

³ *Ibid.* In [1819] Fairfield taught school in the vicinity of the college. (*The Poems and Prose Writings of Sumner Lincoln Fairfield*, Philadelphia, 1841, p. vii.)

sobs growing fainter and fainter as the Boston stagecoach moved on. The forlorn boy was coming in advance to take the Brown entrance examination. Under the caption "College, October 3 [1818]," he records in his *Journal*: "I have passed the ordeal. The grave visages of erudite and critical professors affright my soul no more."⁴

His first impressions of college were pleasurable. He says enthusiastically, "Young, active, gay companions, gather around to welcome me; the old gruff president [Asa Messer] almost smiled; the professors relax their features as they pass, and the tutors whisper [to] each other in commendation."⁵ Evidently Fairfield had passed a very high examination.

Even though he was happy these first few days, the serpent was not long in entering his Eden. His earlier gloomy prediction that the student would probably find college "a different place before he leaves it"⁶ came true about a month later. In the November 6th entry of the *Journal of a Student*, the poet takes occasion to berate several of his instructors, but especially he concentrates his wrath upon the president of the university. For obvious reasons he does not use their real names, but resorts to fictitious epithets.⁷

One of his victims, referred to sarcastically as the

⁴ *New-York Mirror, and Ladies' Literary Gazette*, IV, 49, June 30, 1827, p. [385]. "The Journal of a Student," later published in the *New-York Mirror* in 1827, supplies much valuable information concerning Fairfield's two years at Brown University, but we must be cautioned that this diary was revised for publication probably several years after the events were first recorded, although he is undoubtedly using notes actually made at the time.

⁵ *New-York Mirror*, IV, 49, June 30, 1827, p. [385].

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ These characters have been identified by means of the *Catalogus Universitatis Brownensis*, MDCCCXX, found in the archive room of the John Hay Library. This item of November 6, [1818], dated just about a month after Fairfield's entrance into college, gives a startling instance of his unerring ability for seizing upon the worst traits of humanity.

"Reverend Calvin Backgate", was obviously Calvin Park.⁸ From 1804 to 1811 Calvin Park served as the professor of the learned languages.⁹ In *The History of Brown University* this revealing passage occurs: "The professor of moral philosophy and metaphysics, Calvin Park, seems to have confined the course to recitations from a textbook . . ."¹⁰

In 1824 occurred an undergraduate disturbance which President Messer thought was owing to a protest against his view of the Deity of Christ. The students, presenting their side of the case in an anonymous pamphlet,¹¹ assert that the instruction given to the junior class in the spring of 1824 was inadequate because of the resignation or absence of certain professors apparently antagonistic to the president's religious convictions. The concluding sentence of this broadside, with a punning allusion to the recent retirement of Professor Calvin Park, follows: "'Though we would rather see the Rev. President *calvanistic* in his religion, than in the abdication of his office; yet we hope, that, for the honor of human nature, literature and religion, it may please Heaven, so to overrule events, that soon the tyrant may be shaken from his throne.'"¹²

Fairfield satirizes Calvin Park as "the professor of belles-lettres and metaphysics; but he professes merely."¹³ He implores Campbell, Stuart, Reid, and Locke to peep into the "stygian darkness of Backgate's [Calvin Park's] soul,"¹⁴ and cry aloud in their agony. But he hopes "the

⁸ *Catalogus Universitatis Brownensis*, MDCCCXX, 1804, "Calvinus Park, A.M., Ling. Lit." and "1811, Phil. Mor. & Metaph."

⁹ *The History of Brown University* by Walter C. Bronson, Providence, 1914, p. 159.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

¹¹ This pamphlet, published in January 1826 in New Haven, was entitled *A True and Candid Statement of Facts*.

¹² *The History of Brown University*, p. 189. President Messer resigned, September 23, 1826.

¹³ *New-York Mirror*, IV, 49, June 30, 1827, p. [385].

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Presbyterian hue of his face [will] preserve the ignominious"¹⁵ from their utter wrath!

The only person on the blacklist not attacked is the Reverend Mr. Jasper, "a modest, able, unpretending man, thoroughly acquainted with what he professes to teach, and a favourite with all."¹⁶ Fairfield's "Mr. Jasper" was Jasper Adams,¹⁷ who in 1818 served as tutor at Brown, and "in 1819 . . . was made professor of mathematics and natural philosophy."¹⁸ Adams, "after resigning his professorship in Brown University, was president of the College of Charleston, South Carolina, and of Geneva (now Hobart) College."¹⁹ Perhaps because of the influence of this friend, Fairfield upon leaving college went directly to the South and taught in or near Charleston. Supported by the evidence of Adams' recorded accomplishments, the poet's estimation of his ability and character can not have been far wrong.

The most amusing characterization in the light of later knowledge is Fairfield's description of Tutor Mann, "a tall, elegant gentleman, who atones for his classical defects by the suavity of his manners and the kindness of his disposition."²⁰ This person was no other than the famous Horace Mann, who not only revolutionized public school education in this country,²¹ but was one time president of Antioch

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *The North American Magazine*, V, XXX, April 1835, p. 377.

¹⁷ *Catalogus Universitatis Brownensis*, MDCCCXX, "1819, Jasperus Adams, A.M., Math. et Phil. Nat." Jasper Adams (1793-1841) was graduated from Brown in 1815; taught at Phillips Andover Academy for three years; ordained priest in the Episcopal Church; president of Charleston College (1824-1836); president of Geneva (Hobart) College, N. Y.; chaplain and professor of geography, history, and ethics at the U. S. Military Academy, West Point (1838-1840); took charge of a seminary in Pendleton, S. C. (1840). He published *Elements of Moral Philosophy* (1837). *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 72.

¹⁸ *The History of Brown University*, p. 166.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

²⁰ *The North American Magazine*, V, XXX, April 1835, p. 377.

College.²² Horace Mann, it will be remembered "did his greatest work as secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education from 1837 to 1848, remodeling the school system of that state, and thereby profoundly affecting public-school education throughout the nation."²³ Later he married the youngest daughter of Dr. Asa Messer.²⁴ Ira Moore Barton, 1819, the roommate of Horace Mann during his last two years in college, tells us of his chum's attractive personality, and in spite of Fairfield's estimation says: "I never heard a student translate the Greek and Roman classics with greater facility, accuracy and elegance."²⁵

The next instructor to incur the displeasure of the youthful Fairfield is "tutor Rivulet", probably Aaron Brooks,²⁶ whom the sophomore calls "the misnamed, the incomparable."²⁷ The pun becomes obvious when it is learned that Tutor Rivulet "has just left the recitation room, having dashed Homer on the floor, and plunged headlong through the astonished freshmen, and gone down three flights of stairs, as if a legion of demons were close at his heels. O Temper! what a glorious thing thou art!"²⁸



ASA MESSER 1790
PRESIDENT OF
BROWN UNIVERSITY
1802 - 1826

The Reverend Asa Messer, president of Brown, comes in for the lion's share of Fairfield's vitriolic abuse. Cruelly he begins, "Messer Asafoetida Stockpole is the president of the institution."²⁹ The childish pun on "Messer" needs no labored interpretation, and the reference to "Asafoetida" is self-explanatory. A "stockpole", it is said, was an instrument used for cleaning privies.³⁰ Then, without mercy, the young man draws a physical picture of the gruff president who

²¹ *The History of Brown University*, p. 201; also, *Catalogus Universitatis Brownensis*, MDCCCXX, "1820, Horatius Mann, Tutor."

²² *The History of Brown University*, p. 201.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Brown University and Manning*, Reuben Aldridge Guild, Providence, 1897, p. 455.

had almost smiled at him a month earlier: "He is a strong-built man, unequally formed, with drum-stick legs, broad chest, John-Bull neck, slouching shoulders, high cheek bones, little gray rabbit eyes, full-moon face and square bald head. He moves like an automaton; he speaks like a growling bear."³¹ Moreover, the president mistakes roughness for discipline and haughtiness for dignity; and excites terror instead of reverence and disgust instead of respect. Always, continues Fairfield, Dr. Messer travels sideways into chapel, his right hand habitually spread and fanning the air like an elephant's ear. When he prays before the college body, his voice sounds like an approaching storm, his shut eyes quiver, and his wrinkled cheek dilates and contracts.³²

The rebellious lad is not content, however, merely to enumerate and catalogue the president's unpleasant per-

²⁵ *Memories of Brown*, p. 42.

²⁶ *Historical Catalogue of Brown University 1764-1934*, "Aaron Brooks, A.B. 1817, A.M., Phi Beta Kappa, Tutor and Librarian, Brown University, 1819-21."

²⁷ *The North American Magazine*, V, XXX, April 1835, p. 377.

²⁸ *Ibid.* Fairfield continues to rant. "Bring hither Hayley's 'Triumphs of Temper,' [William Hayley (1745-1820), at one time the friend and helper of William Blake, published *The Triumphs of Temper* in 1781] for never did mortal temper enjoy such triumphs! Call up the ghost of Caliban, but dare not to bring the wand of Prospero—it would be shattered on the instant, and all his magical authority dissolved."

²⁹ *The North American Magazine*, V, XXX, April 1835, p. 376. In the *New-York Mirror*, IV, 49, June 30, 1827, p. [385], this same passage reads: "The Rev. Asa-foetida Stockpole," thus emphasizing the first name of the president. Also offered in evidence is the statement of Jane Fairfield in *The Life of Sumner Lincoln Fairfield, Esq.*, New York, 1847 (Other editions in 1846 and 1848) p. 11: "This institution [Brown] was then under the direction of President Messer."

³⁰ "Stockpole" is an obsolete word ignored in the dictionaries.

³¹ *New-York Mirror*, IV, 49, June 30, 1827, p. [385].

³² *Ibid.* The late President Sears says that Messer had some signal idiosyncrasies, such as "a swelling of the cheeks when displeased, accompanied with a quick, gruff utterance." *The History of Brown University*, p. 193.

sonal characteristics. He strikes deeper. Unable to govern, cries the poet, "he cannot but tyrannize."³³ Although his knowledge is small, his avarice is great, and through this latter failing he "is led like a pet lamb to the slaughter . . . every student, who knows how to point his cue, can govern half the college. Ungainly in person, ungifted in intellect, without dignity of appearance or grace of manner, he occupies the presidential chair as a bear would occupy a throne, and rules a college as a swineherd rules his drove."³⁴

Fairfield was not alone in his dislike for the president. Even at the beginning of his teaching career, Asa Messer apparently did not have the good will of the students. Rudolphus H. Williams, writing to a classmate on April 8, 1789, says: "Mr. Maxcy [at that time the president of Brown] has been unwell the last week so that he did not attend prayers and Messer officiated and he has been both hissed and clapt."³⁵ Even the late Professor Bronson, the very impartial author of the *History of Brown University*,

³³ *Ibid.* In *The History of Brown University*, Asa Messer is several times mentioned as "tyrannical."

³⁴ *New-York Mirror*, IV, 49, June 30, 1827, p. [385]. Professor E. A. Park, one of Messer's former pupils, records in *The History of Brown University*, p. 193, that "No one who has ever seen him can forget him. His individuality was made unmistakable by his physical frame. This, while it was above the average height, was also in breadth an emblem of the expansiveness of his mental capacity. A 'long head' was vulgarly ascribed to him, but it was breadth that marked his forehead; there was an expressive breadth in his maxillary bones; his broad shoulders were a sign of the weight which he was able to bear; his manner of walking was a noticeable symbol of the reach of his mind; he swung his cane far and wide as he walked, and no observer would doubt that he was an independent man."

³⁵ The letter, written by Williams to William E. Green, clearly illustrates Messer's unpopularity. A contention arose over the selection of valedictorian, salutatorian, and other honorary offices. It was considered a "damned partial distribution" (*Memories of Brown*, p. 28). "We have found out", says Williams, "that Father Messer was the principal man in giving out the parts and for that reason he is treated with contempt by the students." (*Ibid.*, pp. 28-29).

declares that intellectually Messer "was characterized by native vigor and masculine sense, not by suppleness, imagination, or culture."³⁶ Nor did the educator in his old age manage to capture the affections of his fellow men. George William Curtis, an honorary alumnus (1854) of Brown, has this to say: "Certainly the most ancient of my Brunonian recollections is that of the spare and, to my boyish eyes, queer figure of ex-President Messer, who, after his retirement from the presidency, used sometimes to preach in the pulpit of the First Congregational Church . . . the chief facts that have lodged in my memory are his solemnity of manner and his knee breeches . . . Even in his later years the good doctor viewed as the head of the university may be still, perhaps, characterized as a queer person."³⁷

Without funds and with few friends, Fairfield after two years was forced to leave college. In the last entry of his *Journal*, dated September 20, [1820], he says: "I must leave my education unfinished and go forth upon the world to do the work of a man at seventeen . . . The days I have passed here have been often very pleasant, for they were full of employment . . . they will recur to my memory in other years, like sweet visions that have gone forever."³⁸

It is comforting to know that in spite of the gruff president, the irate tutor Brooks, and other faculty members who come in for his displeasure, young Fairfield left Brown University and Providence with sincere regret in his heart.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 193. Bronson continues: "He was a man of practical wisdom—a judicious farmer, a shrewd man of business; and by these qualities, combined with thrift and economy, he got together a snug fortune. He owned a farm or two and shares in a cotton factory, and his letters show that he looked after his material interests very keenly."

³⁷ *Memories of Brown*, pp. 70-71.

³⁸ *The North American Magazine*, V, XXX, April 1835, p. 378.

(An account of the newspaper campaign to oust President Messer and Nicholas Brown's choice of Francis Wayland for president will appear in an early issue.—Ed.)

The Cabinet of the Society

The Cabinet of the Rhode Island Historical Society was originally a two-story structure, measuring 50 by 30 feet, designed by James C. Bucklin, architect of the Westminster St. side of the Arcade (1828) and Manning Hall, Brown University (1833). It was built (1844) at a cost of \$5,260, on the lot at 68 Waterman St., across from Brown University, one half of which had been given to the Society by the heirs of Nathan Waterman for the purpose. Part of the money was raised by subscription, but \$3,000 was the proceeds of a right to hold a lottery, granted by the state legislature and sold by the Society to a lottery broker. This transaction brought forth the following letter from President Francis Wayland of Brown University.

Providence July 17, 1837

Sir

Having been informed that the R. I. Historical Society is deriving pecuniary advantage from the sale of lottery tickets; and having serious objections to participating in any benefit derived from this source I beg leave respectfully to request that my name may be withdrawn from the list of members of the Society.

The Pres of the
R. I. Hos. Society

I am
Sir
Very Respectfully
Your Ob t Servant
F. Wayland

* * * * *

It was nearly fifty years before any further improvement was made in the building, then (1891) two three-story wings, each 50 by 22 feet were added and a domed lecture room and picture gallery 30 feet square was built at the rear of the original Cabinet giving the building the shape of a squat T. The plans were the gift of Alfred Stone, a well-known architect, who was for many years

deeply interested in the Society. About \$20,000 was contributed for the construction.

The outer walls of 1844 were ruggedly built of rubble, covered with plaster, though the floor framing is of wood (an interesting feature being the main girder which is one piece of oak 48 feet long and 14 inches square). The same outer wall construction was used in 1891, the partitions being of brick; the main floor was of wood laid on brick arches.

In 1913 members contributed \$8,000 to make the west wing fire-proof and a vault was built on the first floor for manuscripts, books, newspapers prior to 1800. The collection of Directories, Tax books, Rhode Island Imprints, and works of Rhode Island Authors — about 15,000 volumes — were placed in the Rhode Island Room on the first floor, and the upper stories housed the collection of newspapers, which has been described as “the best collection of any single state’s newspapers in any one library,” from 1758 through this morning’s editions.

In 1941 about \$4,000 was subscribed for a long needed renovation program, which is now under way. The heating arrangements have been modernized, the roof repaired, and the basement equipped for work space and storage. A new lighting system is now being installed and painting of the rooms on the ground floor is progressing.

Upon completion of the renovation program it is proposed to revise and improve the catalogue of the books and manuscripts, classifying them by subjects as well as by authors. This work will be done by the W.P.A., under the supervision of an experienced cataloguer employed by the Society, for which the money is yet to be raised.

The increase of 263 members or 63%, since November 1, 1940, encourages the officers to hope that the Society may be increasingly useful to the members and all the people of Rhode Island.

— W. G. R.

Book Reviews

MILL STREAM

By Hortense Lion

(Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1941. Pp. 391. \$2.50)

Mill Stream is the story of the birth of manufacturing in this State and as such is concerned with Providence and the lower Blackstone Valley in the years between the close of the Revolutionary War and the passage of the first protective tariff in 1816. The core of the story is, of course, the trials and final success of Samuel Slater's experiment in spinning by water power.

For purposes of her novel, however, the author has had to modify the actual historical background, retaining Slater as a more or less secondary character and transforming Moses Brown, the capitalist of the venture in fact, into a purely fictional character named Jared Greene. The only resemblance between Greene and his real counterpart is that they both financed Slater and that they both turned from commerce to industry. Otherwise there is no attempt to delineate Greene in the likeness of the great Quaker merchant of Providence.

The novel's hero is Bradley Taylor, a young farmer from the vicinity of Pawtucket who tries to turn his fulling-mill at Pawtucket Falls into a power-spinning plant before Slater arrives on the scene. Taylor, being an entirely imaginative character, can be handled arbitrarily by the author. Although he is made a partner of Slater, the author is able to put him into situations in which the use of a strictly factual figure would be barred.

Thus, although Slater of the novel marries Hannah Wilkinson, as the real-life Slater did, Taylor's loves and life are fair game for the novelist. The plot thus propounded becomes the secondary theme of this book; Brad Taylor's first love, Gail Schofield, weds the villainous Fowler Crawford, an off-islander who never does get to understand the business ethics of Providence, while Taylor turns to Nancy Greene, Jared's niece and ward. He marries her and in time achieves a sort of love for her, although it might be called more exactly a sense of appreciation. Gail, however, remains first in Taylor's heart, Miss Lion contends.

Now, handling such characters, in such situations, and against such a background as Providence in the post-Revolutionary days, ought to make for a good historical novel.

I am sorry to have to report, therefore, that in my opinion *Mill Stream* is neither good historically nor as a novel.

To point out faulty historical background which is so obvious is hardly worth while. Yet, just to support the charge, let it be said that careful study would have eliminated such errors as saying that houses on the Towne street faced east toward the sea, or that an incoming vessel off

Beavertail could be sighted from Providence, or even, granting that it might have been, that she would be approaching a Providence wharf less than an hour later. There are other similar errors, trivial, it is true, but they grate badly on the consciousness of a reader familiar with Providence geography, to say nothing of its history and customs. Even the end-paper maps contain a bad error: the Moshassuck River is labelled "Blackstone River." The map distorts rather badly the Anthony Survey Map of 1803.

But all this would be only picayune and carping criticism were the book a powerful, moving, and workmanlike job of novel-writing. Who would care about a few historical details if the story proved gripping, the narrative absorbing, and the theme inspiring? I hope I would be the first to praise this book were that the case.

The facts of the matter are, however, that no character in the book really comes to life on its pages, that the plots and sub-plots merely drift, that the author seems to have no control over her characters—not because they are motivated by their own inner weakness or strength, which would be the hall-mark of any great fictional writing, but because even the author doesn't seem to understand them or what makes them tick.

Providence

BRADFORD FULLER SWAN

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW AND MONTECASSINO

By Reverend Sabatino Iannetta

(Providence: Visitor Printing Press. 1941 Pp. 136. \$1.00.)

It is gratifying to find that an adequate Italian translation has at last been made of a poem called "Monte Cassino" which was written on October 30, 1874, by my grandfather, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, about the famous Benedictine Monastery which he had visited in Italy.

It is particularly delightful to record that this translation has been made by an American of Italian descent, Father Sabatino Iannetta, who was born in Providence, Rhode Island, but was sent at the age of ten by his parents to study at Monte Cassino, where he later became Vice Rector of the Monastery. He has now returned to Rhode Island and is stationed at Saint Ann's Church in North Providence and has published in English a book entitled "Henry W. Longfellow and Montecassino," in which he includes on opposite pages Longfellow's English text with its alternating rhymes and his own Italian translation in blank verse, giving us line for line a very literal translation of the original. In not attempting to preserve the original rhyme scheme, but rather to preserve the order or words of the text he was translating, he has used much the method which Mr. Longfellow himself had used in translating Dante's Divine Comedy from Italian into English.

In addition to this translation, however, Father Iannetta's book gives

us much else. It begins with an introduction by the Reverend Paul C. Perrotta, O.P. of Providence College, Rhode Island. It includes an account of Longfellow's visit to the Monastery in Monte Cassino, based on hitherto unpublished journals, some literary and historical comment by Father Iannetta on the famous Monastery, and an account of Boccaccio's none-too-reverend visit there in the 14th Century.

For good measure Father Iannetta throws in an additional chapter on "Longfellow's Rhode Island Friendship," an account of the life-long friendship between Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and his first companion in Italy, George Washington Greene, who later lived in the famous Windmill Cottage, which Longfellow helped him put together in East Greenwich, Rhode Island.

It is pleasing to know that Father Sabatino Iannetta, in addition to this book on Longfellow and Montecassino is planning to publish similar translations and comments of other Longfellow poems dealing with Italy, such as "Amalfi" and "Cadenabbia."

Cambridge

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW DANA

In 1939 Father Iannetta published a delightful book in Italian verses and with amusing illustrations, called *L'Asino*, giving a defense of the humble donkey, that had been so unjustly treated by so many writers of the past. *L'Asino*. By Rev. Sabatino Iannetta. (Rome, Tipografia Operaia Romana. 1939. Pp. 71.)

NOTE

GEORGE RICHARDSON, PEWTERER

by Dr. Madelaine R. Brown

"Died: On the 14th inst. George Richardson, Esq., a native of London, England, aged 66 years.

"Mr. Richardson started the first teapot manufactory in the United States at Boston, Massachusetts, and has engaged in the business until his decease. His funeral will take place at his late residence, No. 27 Knight Street [Providence], tomorrow, Sunday at 1 o'clock. Boston papers please copy".¹

With this quotation from the *Republican Herald* of Providence, July 15, 1848, Mr. West in his article in *Antiques*, October, 1940, has solved the mystery of the britannia ware marked "G. Richardson, Glennore Co., Cranston, R. I." and "G. Richardson, Boston." For many years collectors of American pewter have searched Cranston records in vain for any mention of this manufacturer. Boston records yielded more information and Laura Woodside Watkins has summarized her own and her father's collected information in *Antiques*, 1937.² Pictured is his house on Oliver Street and his advertisement as a maker of block tin teapots, 1821. After 1828 only one record, that of the tombstone, was found in Boston, and

Mrs. Watkins and Mr. Woodside buried him at the age of 83 in Copps Hill burying ground, 1830. Since the Cranston pewter was of a later type than that made in Boston, an awkward situation resulted. In 1939 my note on the Cranston factory appeared in this quarterly stating that the Cranston pewter could not have been made before his Boston dates, 1818-1828.³ Later the Providence trade journals from 1840-1850 were searched but no mention of Richardson, the Glennore Company or the Providence Britannia Ware Company was found.

Mr. West, however, has resurrected him and proved by census records and directories 1800-1828 that the George Richardson buried in Boston was another, a wheelwright by profession. The first mention of George Richardson in Cranston found by Mr. West was that of the 1840 census, stating that he had five sons and six daughters and that three of the family were engaged in manufacturing. He does not appear again in the Cranston census, but the Providence directory 1847-48 gives

George Richardson, Agent	Providence Britannia Co., 207 High
George B. Richardson	Britannia ware, 207 High, 28 Knight St.
Francis B. Richardson	Britannia ware, 207 High, 8 Conduit St.

The 1850 census of Providence gives the two sons born in Massachusetts as britannia ware manufacturers. George B. was continually mentioned as a britannia ware manufacturer except in the last few years before his death in 1890⁴ when he was mentioned as a japanner of metal. Francis moved to Boston shortly after 1850 and appears for many years as a britannia ware manufacturer.

The first George Richardson probably arrived in this country shortly before 1818 and went into partnership with Samuel Greene of Boston. Trained in London he made hollow ware and started the first block tin teapot manufactory in this country, while Greene, a much older man, made only flat ware. The partnership lasted only four years, but Richardson is listed in Boston as a pewterer until 1828. His whereabouts from this date until he appears in the Cranston census of 1840 is unknown.

Out of patience with pewter collectors in general and goaded into activity in particular by the admission of ignorance in my note, Mr. West started work in the libraries of Washington, D. C. Without leaving that city he has outlined a life history starting in London, crossing the Atlantic to Boston and ending in Cranston, Rhode Island. Far better were this note entitled not "George Richardson, Pewterer," but "Edward West, Genealogist."

¹ West, Edward H.: George Richardson, Pewterer, *Antiques* 38:176 (October) 1940.

² Watkins, Laura W.: George Richardson, Pewterer, *Antiques* 31:194 (April) 1937.

³ Brown, Madelaine R.: G. Richardson, Cranston Pewterer, *Rhode Island Hist. Soc. Collections* 32:1 (January) 1939.

⁴ September 29, 1890, *Providence City Directory* 1891. The Rhode Island Historical Society has a very complete collection of Directories and Tax Books of all the cities and towns of the State. They are invaluable in research like the above. —Ed.

A Partial List of Accessions

MANUSCRIPTS:

GIFTS

Gladding Papers, including the *Log* of the Brig *Hermes* (1796), the Sloop *Puritan* (1804) and Brig *New England* (1839-40), *Account books* of the *Tillinghast*, *Gladding* and *Chandler families*, *School bills, etc.*, given in memory of Mary T. Gladding, by Mrs. Donald S. Babcock.

"*Shepherd Tom*" *Hazard Papers*, from the estate of Barclay Hazard. *Letter* (1777) to his brother from Deacon Richard Hale, on the occasion of his son Nathan's execution. Gift of Mrs. George M. Thornton. *Log* of the Schooner *Alpheus and Nancy* (1815-17). Gift of Mr. Paul C. Nicholson.

GENEALOGY:

John Budlong. MS. Gift of Mr. Edward A. Stockwell.

Catalogue of American Genealogies in the Long Island Historical Society (New York, 1939), Emma Toedteberg. By exchange.

Laphams of Rhode Island compiled by Frank T. Calef, M.D. Gift of the author.

Moxver Family History (1923), Walter L. Mower, *Seaverns Genealogical History* (Chicago, 1898), Rev. John F. Severance. Gift of Frank E. Waterman.

Rand-Hale-Strong and Allied Families (New York, 1940), Nettie Hale Rand. Gift of the author.

Records from North Burial Ground, Providence, R. I., Wills and Inventories, Warren, R. I., Cemetery Records of Lincoln, R. I., copied and presented by Frank T. Calef, M.D.

The Stevens Family (Windsor, 1941), Edwin H. Stevens. Gift of James H. Arthur.

RHODE ISLAND AUTHORS:

GIFTS

Henry W. Longfellow and Montecassino (Providence, 1941), Rev. Sabatino Iannetta. Gift of the author.

The Hills of Matunuck (1941), Carder H. Whaley. Gift of the author.

Occasional Discourses (Boston, 1838), Francis Wayland. By exchange.

Prepare for Peace (New York, 1941), Henry M. Wriston. Gift of the author.

Somechat of a Hero (New York, 1941), I. J. Kapstein. Gift of the author.

A PARTIAL LIST OF ACCESSIONS

RHODE ISLAND IMPRINTS:

- Two Editions of a *Bible History* (Providence, 1832). Gift of Mrs. Henry W. Cooke.
- A *Boy's Will* (Providence, n.d.), Charles H. Robinson. Gift of the author.
- Providence Juvenile Gazette* (Providence, 1827-28). Gift of Miss Lydia Chace.
- Under the Trade Winds* (Providence, 1898), Alfred M. Williams, by exchange.
- Dr. Watt's Divine Songs, for the use of children* (Providence, 1823). Gift of Donald S. Babcock.

GENERAL:

GIFTS

- American Imprints Inventory* (1941) compiled and presented by the W. P. A.
- Early History of Suffolk County*, New York (Long Island, 1868), Hon. Henry Nicholl. By exchange.
- Encyclopedic Dictionary of American Reference* (Boston, 1901), J. Franklin Jameson. By exchange.
- History of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, 2 Volumes (Philadelphia, 1940), Hampton L. Carson. Gift of the Society.
- Memoir of Bishop Seabury* (New York, 1908), S. J. Seabury. Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Frank A. Cummings.
- Scrap Book of Rhode Island Bicycle Club*, 1888-1928, *Photographs of High Wheel Bicycles*, 1877, gifts of Mr. George R. McAuslan.
- Three Scrap Books* of Howard M. Chapin, gift of late Dr. and Mrs. Charles V. Chapin.

PURCHASES

- Anne Hutchinson Papers*. (1929), *A Westchester Farmer* [Samuel Seabury], (1930). Westchester County Historical Society.
- Colonial Period of American History* (New Haven, 1938) Vols. II, IV, C. M. Andrews.
- Delaware Loyalists* (Delaware 1940), Harold B. Hinecock. Delaware Historical Society.
- General Index to the New England Quarterly* Volumes I - X (1928-37).
- Naval Documents related to Quasi-War between the United States and France* published under the supervision of the Secretary of Navy (1940).

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOLLOWING the adoption of the amendments to the By-Laws providing for Sustaining members, Annual Tax, \$25.00, and Contributing members, Annual Tax, \$10.00, the following additions and changes have taken place:

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| *Mr. John Nicholas Brown | *Mr. G. Pierce Metcalf |
| Mrs. Robert P. Brown | *Mr. William Davis Miller |
| *Mr. Robert T. Downs | *Miss Mary H. Parsons |
| *Mr. Hovey T. Freeman | Mr. Norman B. Smith |
| *Miss Caroline Hazard | *Hon. Charles F. Stearns |

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| *Mr. Claude R. Branch | Mr. Daniel H. Morrissey |
| *Madelaine R. Brown, M.D. | *Hon. Addison P. Munroe |
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| *Mr. S. Foster Hunt | *Mr. F. L. Titsworth |
| *Mr. Maxwell C. Huntoon | *Col. Byron S. Watson |
| * Transferred from Active membership. | |

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- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
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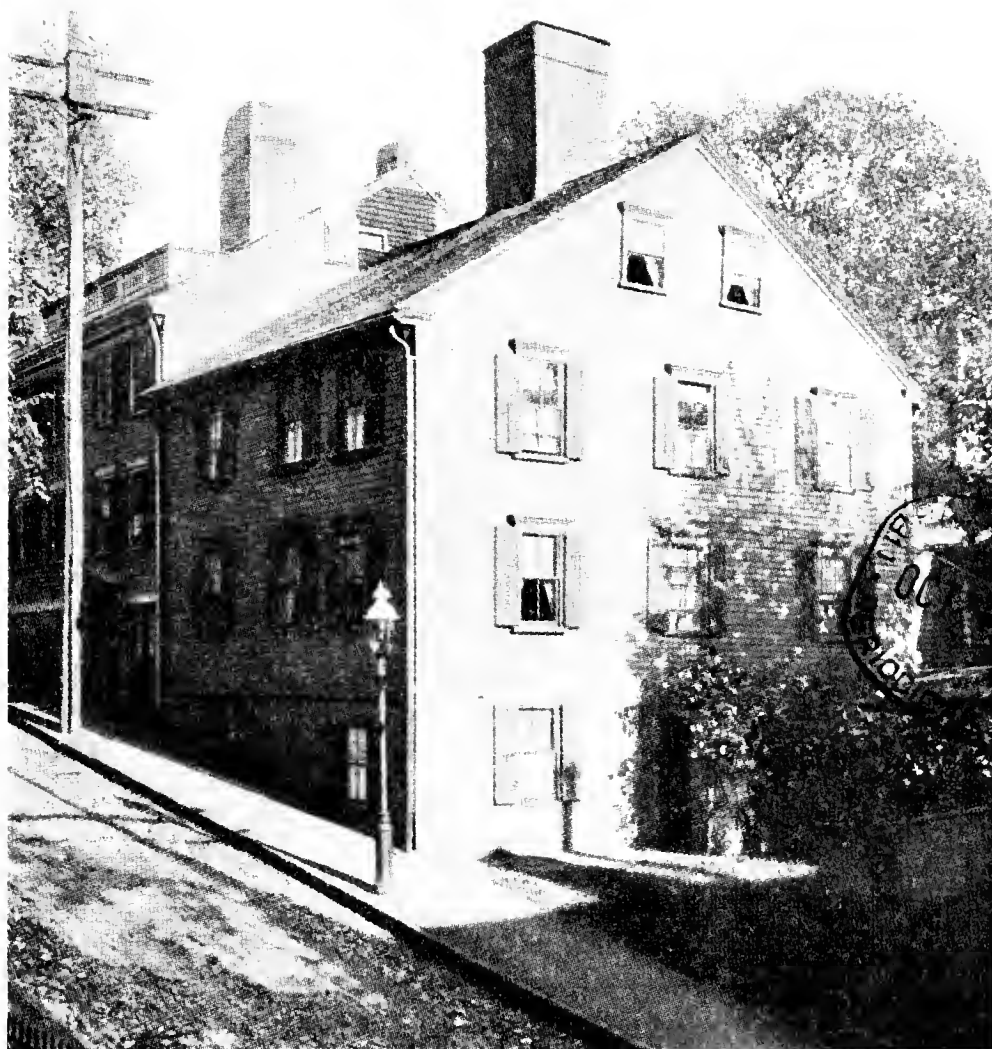
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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

VOL. XXXIV

OCTOBER, 1941

No. 4



THE FIRST OFFICE OF THE PROVIDENCE BANK
IN TWO ROOMS ON THE SECOND FLOOR OF THIS HOUSE ON THE
SOUTH SIDE OF HOPKINS STREET, THE PROVIDENCE BANK WAS
ESTABLISHED, OCTOBER 3, 1791. UNTIL REMOVAL OF THE
BANK (1801) THE STREET WAS CALLED BANK LANE.

Issued Quarterly

68 WATERMAN STREET, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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RHODE
HISTORICAL



ISLAND
SOCIETY

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VOL. XXXIV

OCTOBER, 1941

No. 4

CHARLES F. STEARNS, *President*
WILLIAM DAVIS MILLER, *Secretary*

ROBERT T. DOWNS, *Treasurer*
WILLIAM G. ROELKER, *Librarian*

The Society assumes no responsibility for the statements or the opinions of contributors.

South County's Consul to Sweden

by PAUL FRANCIS GLEESON*

A cenotaph to Robert Champlin Gardiner is to be found in the original graveyard of the Narragansett Church at the Platform near Congdon Hill in North Kingstown. He was the second United States Consul at Sweden.

This slate stone in an historic Rhode Island cemetery is the sole reminder in the twentieth century of an incident which connected the Sweden of Gustav IV and the America of Jefferson, and is also involved with a beautiful girl who attended a dinner party escorted by a fashionable gallant — the entire affair capped dramatically with death and destruction on the high seas.

Robert Champlin Gardiner, the son of Colonel John Gardiner and his wife Sarah, was born in South Kingstown during the year 1773. His father who has been described as "an accomplished gentleman of the old school and of

* Paul Francis Gleeson, A.B. (Brown) 1932, M.A. (Brown) 1939, is a teacher of history at the Classical High School, Providence.

popular manners”¹ possessed large estates both at Boston Neck and at Westerly. Colonel Gardiner was the uncle of Hannah Robinson, and it was he who arranged and chaperoned, from behind some shrubbery, the secret meetings of that unfortunate young lady and her lover, Peter Simons of Newport.

The Colonel was also active in the civic and religious affairs of Narragansett. He was an influential member of the Narragansett Church, and served for a number of years as warden. During the Revolution he was a most active Whig, and in 1776 was elected captain of the Independent Company called the “Kingstown Reds.” Later in 1786-87 he was elected to the General Assembly from South Kingstown by the Paper Money Party, and in 1788 and 1789 to the Congress of the Confederation by the popular vote of the state but did not take his seat.

In view of these instances it is clear that Colonel John Gardiner might well have occupied an influential position in the newly formed Republican Party,² the descendant of the Paper-Money Party and other anti-Federalist groups. The power of the latter had grown steadily in Rhode Island, and it was most active in the presidential election of 1800, the first in this state in which appeared two national political parties. There was much excitement and bitterness at this time — the Federalist papers here claiming that Jefferson was working to forward the interests of France at the expense of those of the United States, and also that he was an infidel. On the other hand, the same papers upheld John Adams as a paragon of ability and character. There was much Republican sentiment, however, throughout the state and it was observed at the time that, “the eventual triumph of the Federal ticket was wholly owing to the

¹ Wilkins Updike, *A History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett, Rhode Island* (Boston, 1907), 2nd edition, II, 105.

² Throughout this article it must be remembered that the Republican Party of 1800 is the ancestor of the present Democratic Party and has no connection with the modern Republican Party.

unprecedented exertion of Providence.”³ The southern part of the state, including Newport but exclusive of Westerly and Hopkinton, gave a clear majority for Jefferson.⁴

In return for this showing and for other possible services rendered Jefferson, it may be assumed that Colonel Gardiner was able to secure from the President for his son the appointment as American Consul at Göteborg, Sweden. Robert Champlin Gardiner was appointed to this post on May 3, 1802, and succeeded the first consul who had been named to the office in 1797.⁵

Newport merchants with whom Gardiner was undoubtedly connected had early evinced an interest in the possibilities of trade with Sweden. As early as June 1770, the sloop *Dolphin* under the command of Captain Nathaniel Hammond was sent to Göteborg “to make a tryal if an advantageous Trade may be carried on from hence there.”⁶ It is not known whether the *Dolphin*, which was probably owned by S. and W. Vernon, made the first voyage from Newport in the Swedish trade. However, it must have been one of the earliest ventures in this direction. The trade with Sweden prospered and during the next thirty years a number of Rhode Island firms, among them Samuel Fowler & Son, and Hunter, Gibbs & Champlin, were engaged in it, exchanging various West Indian products as well as Amer-

³ William A. Robinson, *Jeffersonian Democracy in New England* (New Haven, 1916), p. 35, n. 80. (This volume contains, unfortunately, only a very sketchy account of the rise of Republicanism in Rhode Island.)

⁴ *The Providence Gazette*, November 29, 1800 contains the vote by towns in the presidential election of 1800. Field in his *State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* (Boston, 1902), I, 287-288, gives a brief account of this election which contains only the results from Providence and Newport. Some interesting letters concerning this election and Governor Fenner's account of his interviews with General Hamilton and President Adams are to be found in George C. Mason, *Reminiscences of Newport* (Newport, 1884), p. 108 ff.

⁵ Contained in a letter (1939) to the writer from the Division of Research and Publications, Department of State.

⁶ Massachusetts Historical Society, [*Collections*, Seventh Series, Vol. IX] *Commerce of Rhode Island* (Boston, 1914), I, 332.

ican tobacco, rice, indigo and rum for Swedish iron and Russian duck — the latter a species of flax fabric lighter and finer than canvas and used for pleasure sails and for sailor's outergarments. The Americans also purchased various kinds of tea — Bohea, Hyson and Suchong — which had arrived in the Swedish markets from China.

It is more than probable that the new consul, in addition to his official duties, acted as an American merchant in Sweden, a practice common in those early days. After about a year's service, however, Gardiner found it necessary to return to New England. In writing to David Airth, whom he had appointed to act as American Vice-Consul during his absence, the Consul remarked that he was compelled to journey to "America and the West Indies in order to obtain a Settlement of some Business which cannot be settled by Correspondence"⁷

Gardiner spent the winter of 1803-1804 at his home in southern Rhode Island, and at that time was one of the actors in an interesting romantic interlude. This young bachelor, fresh from the continent, quickly regained his prominent place in the social life of his home community. There the Consul's attention and fancy was taken by Miss Nancy Brown, the daughter of the former Lieutenant-Governor George Brown. In order to further his friendship with this young lady and to celebrate his return from Sweden, Robert Gardiner opened his house for a splendid dinner over which Miss Brown was to be the "presiding genius."

This guest of the evening, who was destined to live to over ninety, never tired of describing either this affair or her escort's appearance. She has left us a picture of a fashionable gallant, elegantly attired with fine lace ruffles at his wrist and knee and wearing a white satin vest which was "sprigged" with pink rosebuds. In this dress and fresh from his European experiences Gardiner must have stood out, even in competition with the other young blades from this wealthy section of New England.

⁷ Contained in a letter (1939) to the writer from the Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Sweden.

The Consul's heavy watch, however, was missing for it had been confiscated temporarily by his beautiful partner of the evening. With the chain around her neck and the watch in the bosom of her dress, Nancy went to the dinner party and took her place on Robert Gardiner's right. Although the evening's festivities were successful, the rapidly-developing love affair was soon to be cut short by the attitude of Nancy's father.

That gentleman, possibly for political reasons,⁸ had taken a dislike to this suitor for his daughter's hand. Mr. Brown's disapproval was clearly evident when young Gardiner, on the day following the party, paid a call upon Nancy's family. At that time, George Brown instead of bringing forth some of his fine wines or Holland cordials as would have been the customary hospitality, served native apple cider to his daughter's guest. Also neither the silver tankard nor the cut glass commonly used by the family and their friends was produced, but instead a tankard and tumblers made of common every-day pewter. Years later Miss Nancy would conclude her story of the incident by saying, "Can any one imagine my mortification, to see that elegant gentleman treated in such a contemptuous way, or wonder that he never came to see me again."⁹ Mr. Brown must have regretted his action in later years, for his daughter was fated to live out her long life — a spinster.

Not a bit cast down by this set-back, however, Gardiner's attention was soon attracted by another young lady, a Miss Day of Catskill, New York, whom he subsequently married. This event took place shortly before the start of his ill-fated business trip to the West Indies. Two of Miss Day's brothers, Russell and Philo, had recently married or were

⁸ Lieutenant-Governor George Brown, running for re-election, was defeated in 1800 and 1801 by the Republican candidate, former Lieutenant-Governor Samuel J. Potter. Brown's animosity toward young Gardiner may have arisen from the bitter feelings aroused in the campaign of 1800. See Wilkins Updike, *op. cit.*, II, 62.

⁹ Caroline E. Robinson, *The Gardiners of Narragansett* (Providence, 1919), pp. 123-124.

soon to marry Harriet and Emma Gardiner, sisters of the American consular official.¹⁰

Gardiner found it necessary to leave for the West Indies in the late spring or early summer of 1804 in order to straighten out the affairs that had called him home from Sweden. It may be presumed that his business in the West Indies was finished by mid-summer, when he sailed from Guadeloupe for New York. This voyage was never completed for the vessel sank with all hands off the coast of Charleston, South Carolina in August, 1804.

News traveled slowly in those days, and it was not until June 18, 1806, that the Vice-Consul, Mr. Airth, informed the Secretary of State that several ship captains had brought him the sad story.¹¹ Six months later, in January, 1807, he was able to write that the death of Robert Champlin Gardiner had been confirmed by a letter from the latter's father from Newport, Rhode Island.¹²



¹⁰ Wilkins Updike, *op. cit.*, II, 105.

¹¹ Contained in a letter (1939) to the writer from the National Archives, Washington.

¹² *Ibid.*

The Invaluable Axe

by GEORGE BENVIE

The interest which has recently been aroused in the methods of constructing Colonial houses draws attention to the invaluable part played by the axe. It was "the English carpenter's tool *par excellence*," writes Antoinette F. Downing,¹ "and with this tool alone the American carpenter, as did his forbears, hewed, squared, and dressed the great logs into beams suitably smooth" for the home he was building.

In the writer's opinion this excellent book might have been improved by the inclusion of a chapter describing the various processes through which the great logs passed before they were fit for building purposes.

My knowledge of the subject is the result of actually performing the work of hewing, squaring and dressing logs, some forty years since, in the Upper Musquodoboit Valley, 50 miles from Halifax, Nova Scotia.

In this Province, until quite recent times, much of the timber used in building was hand-hewn. Although the buildings were inferior from an architectural point of view the methods of preparing the timber were similar to those in use more than two hundred and fifty years before in Colonial New England.

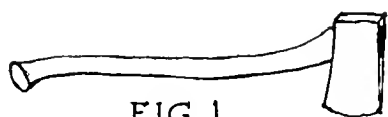


FIG. 1

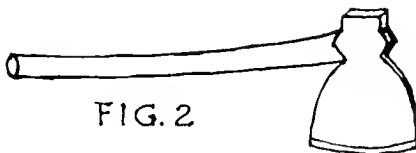


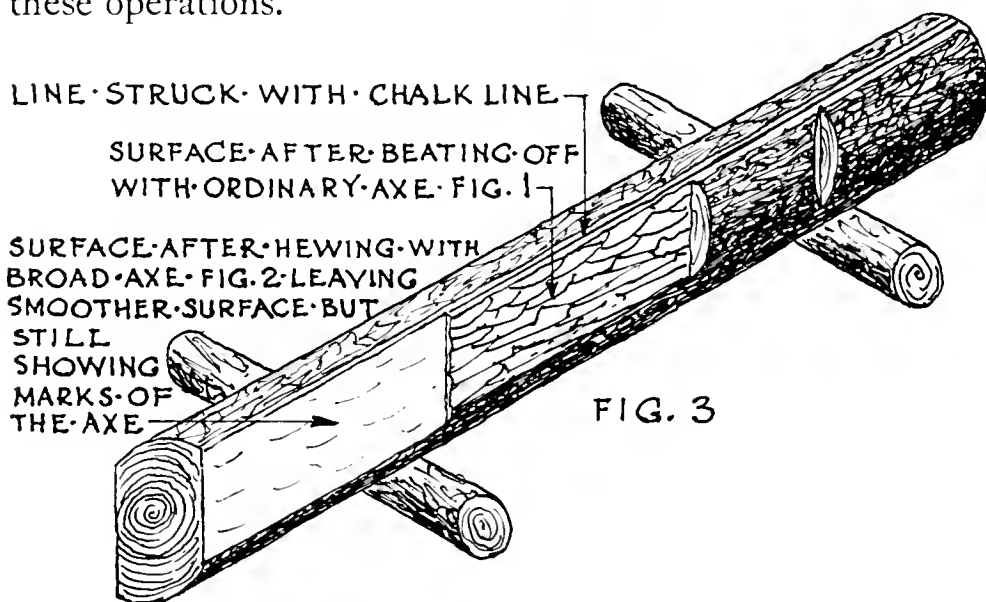
FIG. 2

Two types of axe were used in the process of converting logs into beams: the ordinary wood-choppers axe (figure 1), which was used for the preliminary operations; and the broad axe (figure 2), which was used for the final smoothing operation.

¹ Antoinette F. Downing, *Early Homes of Rhode Island* (Richmond, 1937), 3.

The wood-chopper goes about his job this way. After the tree is felled the top and branches are removed and the trunk is propped up on skids. Two narrow strips of bark are then removed to leave clear spaces on which the width — to which the beam is to be hewn — is marked off by a line, usually “chalked” with the ash from a burnt alder or similar green wood.²

Next, the axe-man, standing on the log, cuts notches between his feet. These notches must be exactly vertical and not so deep that they cut through to the plane marked by the “chalk” line. Anyone who has ever tried to handle an axe will realize that it takes considerable skill to perform these operations.



The log is now ready for “beating off,” the process of splitting off the pieces between the notches, leaving the log rough-squared but about $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch wider than the final

² In his shop a carpenter generally “chalks” his line with white chalk. But in the woods chalk is not available so the woodsman “chalks” his line in the following manner. Before starting to fell a tree he starts a small fire and puts in a stick of green alder, about a foot long and an inch in diameter, until it becomes charred about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch deep. By the time he has felled the tree and removed the strips of bark the charred stick is cool enough to “chalk” the line.

width as indicated by the "chalk" line. All of these operations are performed with the ordinary wood-chopper's axe.

In the final operation the hewer, using the broad axe, stands beside the log—raised on skids—and hews to the line, leaving the surface of the timber in a smooth and finished condition.

The skilled axe-man produces perfectly squared timber: but to insure this result the first two sides of the log are checked by use of a plumb bob, the other two sides by the use of the steel square.

To secure the best results logs are hewn in the spring and left in the open a few months to season. Seasoning generally causes a slight warping in which case the broad axe and steel square are again brought into use and the timber reshaped. This process is called: "Taking the beam out of wind" or twist.

Examination of a number of old buildings for the Historic American Buildings Survey has confirmed my opinion that much of the framing was hand-hewn: the less important being done with the ordinary axe; the more important, with the broad axe. A splendid example of the latter is the main girder in the Cabinet of the Rhode Island Historical Society, one piece of oak 48 feet long and 14 inches square.



Courtesy of South County Museum

EARLY TYPE OF POLL-LESS SQUARE-BLADED AMERICAN BROAD AXE. CF. HENRY C. MERCER, *Ancient Carpenter's Tools*, BUCKS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY (PORTLAND, MAINE, 1929).



Courtesy Historic American Building Survey, Library of Congress
DETAIL OF STAIRWAY, JOHN BROWN HOUSE (1786)

John Brown's Mansion House on the Hill

by HARRISON SOUTHWICK TAFT*

In 1786 John Brown began the erection of "My Red-Brick-Mansion-House-on-the-Hill" as he described it in distinction from his "Red Brick House"¹ on the west side of "Ye Towne (South Main) Street" whereat he lived up to 1788, from the year before his marriage to Sarah Smith, November 27th, 1760.

"The Mansion House on the Hill," considered one of the finest examples of early Federal architecture, stands on the north side of Power Street, between Brown and Benefit Streets. It was designed by John's brother Joseph Brown,² the second member of the "Four Brown Brothers"³ of Providence; famous in Colonial and Revolutionary days.

Joseph Brown died on December 3rd, 1785—previous to the laying of the corner stone of the famous old man-

* Harrison Southwick Taft, Ph.B. (Brown) 1892, Sc.B. (M.I.T.) 1896-7. Marine Engineer and Naval Architect. Leader of construction crew which built (1917-20) Dry Docks Nos. 4, 6 and 7, Norfolk Navy Yard, Va., for which Elizabeth, Queen of Belgium acted as sponsor at the dedication exercises. Author of treatises on concrete, river and harbor improvements, and concrete and waterfront construction. Also of several historical and genealogical studies about Rhode Island and its noted families and their landholdings. Member R. I. H. S.

¹ Built in 1759, on land south of his father James' domicile, now a part of the park opposite the Court House.

² Joseph Brown (1733-85), first Professor of Natural Philosophy (1784-5), at Rhode Island College (since 1804 Brown University). Joseph also designed his own house on South Main Street. In 1794 it was purchased by Thomas Poynton Ives who became a partner of his brother-in-law, Nicholas Brown in the firm of Brown, Benson & Ives (1792), which became Brown & Ives on the retirement of George Benson in 1796. In 1801 Ives sold the house to the Providence Bank which occupied the premises for 125 years. Since 1926 the building has housed the various firms controlled by the descendants of Nicholas Brown and Thomas P. Ives.

³ Nicholas Brown (1729-91); Joseph (1733-85); John (1736-1803); Moses (1738-1836).

sion. It was Zephaniah Andrews⁴ who carried on the erection of the mansion house to a successful completion in 1787.

Occupation of the completed building as his permanent residence was in connection with the marriage of Abby Brown, John Brown's daughter, to John Francis, which was celebrated with great splendor, January 1st, 1788.

John Brown, the sixth child of James and Hope (Power) Brown, was born in Providence on January 27th, 1736, presumably in his parents' house on lands now occupied by the Providence County Court House. He is reputed to have been a man of large physical proportions. He is cited as "A man of magnificent projects and extraordinary enterprise," one of the real leaders of his native city. As set forth on his tombstone he was:

The Enterprising and Accomplished Merchant.

The Tried Patriot and Legislator.

The Universal Philanthropist and Sincere Christian.

* * * *

The first commercial ventures of John Brown were in partnership with his three brothers under the name Nicholas Brown & Company, a firm that engaged in multifarious activities, they taking a leading part in the erection of "The College Edifice" (University Hall of Brown University) in 1770.

Of the "Four Famous Brothers" John Brown was the most active one in the founding of Brown University "High on the Hill above ye Town" and held the office of Treasurer for twenty-one consecutive years (1775-1796). He was the main stay of the First Baptist Church whose Meeting House was built in 1774-1775 from designs by James Summers and Joseph Brown.

Of a later date (1782), under his own name, he operated a fleet of fast sailing vessels, many of which are cited as having been built at India Point, Providence. The most famous of his large fleet was the GENERAL WASHINGTON, which set sail from Narragansett Bay in 1787 on the first voyage ever made by a sailing vessel from

⁴ See page 114.

Providence to China. Another of his famous ships was the **PRESIDENT WASHINGTON**.

After his marriage to Abby Brown, John Brown took his son-in-law John Francis into partnership under the name of Brown & Francis — their ships making long voyages to any port in the world where a profitable trade could be had.

John Brown was the principal promoter of the famous Providence Bank, as is so clearly seen from his letters (June-September 1791) published elsewhere in this issue.

He was an influential leader in the movement which finally induced Rhode Island to ratify the Federal Constitution. He also was a strong advocate of an adequate navy to protect the nation's commerce on all seas, both as a member of Congress and as a private citizen.

The famous old Mansion House on the Hill is located on what was known as the "Joseph Whipple 18 acre lot," extending from "Ye Towne (South Main) Street" easterly unto the "Highway at ye Head of ye Lots in ye Neck" (Hope Street). Power Lane bounded the 18 acre tract on the south, with lands belonging to the heirs of Charles Field on the north.

The 18 acre tract consisted of three lots. The most southerly one, fronting on Power Lane, was originally assigned to William Wickenden; the middle section to William Mann; the northern lot, fronting on what is now Charles Field Street, to William Burrows. The combined width—north and south—of the three lots was about 280 feet.

On May 10th, 1768, Nicholas Brown, the eldest of the "Four Famous Brothers" purchased that part of the 18 acre "Whipple Lot" eastward of "Ye Back (Benefit) Street" unto what is now Hope Street. The purchased land contained 14 acres, less a small 60 by 80 foot lot within the confines of the 14 acres, then owned by Nicholas Cooke. The so called "Nicholas Cooke Lot" occupied what is now the northeast corner of Power and Brown Streets, being within the confines of the lot upon which Thomas P.

Ives built his own "Brick Mansion" in 1806—now occupied by his great-grandson Robert Hale Ives Goddard.

On February 10th, 1769 Nicholas Brown sold unto his brother John Brown a $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre lot as the southwest corner of the 14 acre tract. It was upon this small sized lot that John Brown erected his famous Mansion house in 1786-7.

There are strong reasons to believe that the famous mansion house as it stands today was not all built at the same time. In the first place the brick and brick work of the 54 by 50 foot main structure and the old coach house is different from that of the ell-part of the present structure. The bricks used in building the first two structures are all of the same texture and size which would indicate that they came from the same brick yard and out of the same mix. To use the language of a bricklayer, they are laid upon a "One Header - Three Stretcher" system.

The brick used in the construction of the outside walls of the ell-part of the now mansion house are smoother and a trifle larger and are laid upon a "One Header - Eight Stretcher" system. Also the joints of the brick work in the ell do not match up with those in the main house as they should, if of same size and put in place at the same time as those of the main house.

Further evidence of a different period of construction is found in John Brown's will — he dying from the effects of being thrown out of his low hung gig as he was turning from Power Lane into the "Paved Yard" on the east side of his Mansion House as tradition tells.

In his will John Brown describes his mansion house as:

"The homestead in which I now live being 54 by 50 feet square, three stories high, with a deep cellar under the whole, and all brick from the cellar stone walls as well as the partitions as the walls of the house, together with the out houses: viz the coach house: kitchen: stable: and wood house with the bathing house and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land on which the house stands and nearly in the center. Said land is bounded by the street on the west and on the south, and on the east and north by lands of Messrs Brown & Ives, including all fences, garden, paved yard, fruit trees etc. . . ."

Since John Brown made no mention of the present ell-part of structure it is possible that it did not exist when he drew his will in 1802. On the other hand it is possible to infer from the reference to "All brick from the cellar stone walls as well as the partitions as the walls of the house" that the ell was in course of construction at the time of his decease in 1803. Taking every thing into consideration the author is of the decided opinion that the ell-part of the present mansion house was erected at a date later than 1803: unless proven to the contrary.

John Brown left unto his wife Sarah a life interest in the homestead and its adjoining lands with the provision that upon her decease they were to become the property of his son James. He stipulated that "All Plate and household furniture belong to me at the time of my death; at Spring Greene and at Point Pleasant as well as in the home where we now live—" was to become the property of his wife Sarah; "to be disposed of by her to such of our children and grandchildren as she may think most deserving—"

With the decease of Sarah Brown—widow—on February 25th, 1825 her son James Brown—bachelor—became possessed in his own name of his father's homestead estate on Power Street, the mansion house as well as its $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of adjacent grounds—including the garden part that lay east of the "Paved Yard."

In carrying out the terms of John Brown's last testament Sarah Brown his widow, bequeathed unto their daughter Sarah, widow of Charles Frederick Herreshoff (deceased in 1819):

"— all my linen—plate—apparel—books and household furniture, meaning thereby to include the furniture at Point Pleasant [Poppasquash] belong to me — and all other furniture of any kind or nature what so ever —."

It was through such a bequest that Sarah Brown Herreshoff became possessed of most of the household equipment of the mansion house in Providence as well as at Point Pleasant; including some out of Spring Greene: Abby

(Brown) Francis and Alice (Brown) Mason receiving few of the personal effects of their beloved father, John Brown.

James Brown died on December 12th, 1834, leaving five-sixths of his estate to his sister Sarah (Brown) Herreshoff—one sixth to his nephew John Brown Francis. Through a partition deed of April 21st, 1835, Sarah (Brown) Herreshoff became possessed of John Brown's "Mansion House on the Hill" in her own name.

On her decease, August 2nd, 1846, she bequeathed the homestead and its $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land to her favorite grandson James Brown Herreshoff, then twelve years of age, with the provision that her son John and his unmarried sisters might live in the house until 1852, when James would be eighteen years of age.

On October 26th, 1852, Hope (Brown) Ives—widow of Thomas P. Ives purchased the famous homestead and its $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land from James Brown Herreshoff, the Herreshoff family thereafter making their homestead at John Brown's Point Pleasant Farm on Poppasquash, which he had bequeathed unto his daughter Sarah (Brown) Herreshoff.

In 1854 Madam Ives deeded the mansion house and lands westward of the present stone wall at the east side of the "Paved Yard" unto her son Robert Hale Ives. Unto her son Moses Brown Ives she deeded that part east of said wall as the former "Garden Part" of the homestead lot, now a part of the lot belonging to the Bishop's House of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Through his last testament, Robert Hale Ives, deceased on July 6th, 1875, left the homestead and its then adjacent lands to his daughter Elizabeth Amory (Ives) Gammell, wife of Professor William Gammell. Her beneficiaries—Harriet Ives Gammell and Helen Louise (Gammell) Herbert—sold the homestead and its then lands to Marsden J. Perry in 1901, whose estate in 1936 sold it and its lands to John Nicholas Brown (the present owner), great-great-grandson of Nicholas Brown, who purchased the 14 acre Joseph Whipple lot in 1768.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The Founding of the Providence Bank

(October 3, 1791)¹*Compiled by* HOPE F. KANE AND W. G. ROELKER

Providence merchants and ship-owners engaged in world trade, early perceived the importance of establishing a bank in the city. When the Bank of North America began operations in Philadelphia (1781), all the inhabitants benefited and the city acquired a reputation for punctuality in business transactions.

In 1784 banks were chartered in Boston and New York, and Providence proposed to do likewise, a proposal being made to the public in the *Providence Gazette and Country Journal*, March 6, 1784. But the time was not yet ripe, and in spite of the aggressive leadership of John Brown—"The Enterprising and Accomplished Merchant," as he is described on his tombstone—of John Jenckes and Deputy Governor Jabez Bowen, the effort failed. Rhode Island was to suffer a final eruption of paper money before her people recognized the necessity for sound banking.²

¹ All letters quoted are from the Moses Brown Papers, 18 folio volumes, in R. I. H. S. Collections. The complete file of the *Providence Gazette* is a part of the Society's comprehensive collection of Rhode Island newspapers from 1758 to date.

² Cf. Howard K. Stokes, "Chartered Banking 1791-1809," in Edward Field's *State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations at the End of the Century: A History* (Boston, 1902), III, 260-282. John Jenckes (Son of Judge Daniel Jenckes) Trustee of Brown University (1774-1791); member of the Council of War (1778-1780); and Commissioner with Rouse Helme to adjust accounts with the United States (1787). A prominent merchant and for many years a member of the General Assembly, Jenckes lived opposite the site selected for University Hall and was one of the managers of the lotteries to raise money for it and the First Baptist Meeting House. He married Hannah Cory of Newport (1751), Freeclove Crawford, and Abigail, the widow of Caleb Bowers, Somerset, Massachusetts. He died January 2, 1791 the owner of large real estate holdings including a 330 acre farm on Boston Neck, Narragansett.

The Legislature repealed the Legal Tender Act, September 15, 1789; Rhode Island finally ratified the Federal Constitution, May 29, 1790; Congress chartered the Bank of the United States, February 25, 1791—it did not open till December 12, 1791: John Brown believed the time had come to revive the project of establishing a bank in Providence. Accordingly he and his son-in-law partner, John Francis, issued the following invitation:

Providence 3^d June 1791

Sir:

An anxious desire to promote the commercial, mechanical & manufacturing Interests of this town by the Establishment of a Bank which experience has Taught (where this Establishment has taken place) promote Industry & a Rigid Punctuality in the Performance of Contracts — We hope the good Citisens of this Town will be impress'd with the Utility of such an Institution — In Order to digest a Plan the most eligible [desirable] a Considerable Meeting of the Gentlemen in this Town is desir'd to Convene at the Representatives Chamber in the Courthouse³ tomorrow at 3 oclock P. M. when your *particular* Attention & Council is Requested—

by your humbl Servants—

Col^l. Zephaniah Andrews⁴

Brown & Francis

[Endorsement]

from

Brown & Francis

1791

[John Brown to Moses Brown]

Providence Aug^t. 14th, 1791

D^r. Brother

* * * * *

I am Fulley of Your Opinion that now is the Time to Finance a Bank hear, and I am *Exceeding Sorry* that your are Obloiged to be out of Town tomorrow [.]. the Buissiness You are Going upon, I know is

³ The Old State House, erected in 1761, now the 6th District Court House, Benefit Street.

⁴ Zephaniah Andrews, Chairman of the Correspondence Committee of the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers, an organization formed in 1789 to promote home manufactures and industry. A mason by trade, builder of the John Brown House (1786), businessman and statesman, Andrews subscribed for the "Mechanical Society" and for himself.

important, but Every hour before you are Obliged to Sett off[,] I wish may be as much as your other Dutys will Admit[,] Spent in Delibberating on the best possible plan of our proposed Bank [.] — I yesterday Inclosed the Baltimore Incorporation [charter] of their Bank with what Sears & Eves Ses is Expected of it [,] to Mess^{rs} P[hilip] & Zacheriah Allin [,] Doct^r [Amos] Troop & Decon [Samuel] Nightingel [,]⁵ together with my proposells of A Bank hear of 120,000 Doll^s. to be p^d half in Spetia [specie] the First payment in Octob^r. & the Others Quarterly, & the Six P.C^t.⁶ Stock to be p^d in 15 Days After the Bank begins to Discount [,] which is proposed to be Immediately on the payment of the First Quarter Say 15,000 Doll^s. when the Directers are to be Chosen, the plates & paper being Reddy Made, a Sample of which I Inclose You.

by the proposed plan the 3^d & 4th payments maybe posponed if the Directers should find the 1 & 2^d payments in Spetia to be Suffitient [—] which with the 6 P. C^t. Securitys will make 90,000 Dollers [—] supposing the Securitys to be only at parr, but I suppose they would now Command 22/6. Cash⁷ which is 12½ P.C^t. over parr

I had first fixed on only 100,000 Dollers for the plan [,] to be one half in Spetia & one half in Six P.C^t. paper [.] but it being thought by Some that a Larger Sum would Give a Grater Cr [credit] to the Bank, & be more likely to Interest people from aBroad [,] I alterd it to 120,000 Doll^s. perhaps if it Stood at 100,000, and only the 4th & last payment Left Obtional with the Directers weither [whether] it shall be p^d. at the time or pospond [,] as Might then Appear best for the Stock holders, may be suffitient, & upon which I wish your opinion [,] as Indeed on the propotion of Spetia to the publick Securitys [.]—perhaps by making the Bank as Near Simmuler [similiar] to the National Bank as possible, it will be more Poppeler then Aney other plan.

⁵ Philip Allen, brother and business associate of Zachariah Allen, both prominent ship-owners and merchants.

Doctor Amos Throop, importer of dyes, painter's colours, drugs, and medicine, was first President of the Rhode Island Medical Society, first President of the Exchange Bank (established in 1801), and a member of the General Assembly. In 1780 he opened a new Drug Store on the site of the present Industrial Trust Building.

Samuel Nightingale, deacon and treasurer of the First Congregational Church (Benefit and Benevolent Streets), a merchant who operated a store on North Main Street opposite St. John's Church.

⁶ Payment was to be made October 1, 1791, and quarterly thereafter; one half in specie—silver or gold; and one half in 6% and 3% stock of the United States.

⁷ 22 shillings and 6 pence.

I will however this After noone Send you, the Incorporation [charter] of the National Bank, the Baltimore Bank & the plan of the Boston Bank [,] out of the whole You'l [,] if you please [,] Sketch out the best that Can possible be Devised for our Banks Constitution or plan of Subscription [—] I have no Doubt but the General Assembly in Octob^r. will Incorporate the proprietors in a Simmuler Manner to the Merriland [Maryland] Incorporation for the Baltimore Bank,

We may Forword the Buissiness by meeting tomorrow [.] but as you & W[elcome] Arnold will be absent [,] Gov^r [Jabez] Bowen^s &c [,] the Buissiness as to aney absolute Conclusion [conclusion] May be Adjourn'd [.] I wish you would Mention a Day when you Can Attend [.] Let it be as Farr Forword as will bring M^r Arnold hoo^me, as I Could wish all the Council & Good Sense in this Buissiness that our Little Town will Afford [.] if You See Thom^s Arnold before you Leave town You'l do well to advise him to Attend the Meeting at the Court House tomorrow at 3. oClke

How Can a Considerable part of our Worthey Deceased Brothers [Nicholas]⁹ Securitys be put to a Better Use then in a Bank of our own [.] If they sell a part of them at 12½ or 15 P.C^t. advanc[e] & put them in a Bank that probobly will Yeald from 10 to 12 P.C^t. Annually [.]

^s Welcome Arnold, prosperous wholesale and retail merchant; trustee of Brown University (1783-98); and President of the Firewards of Providence. Member of the General Assembly (1778-98), Speaker (1792-94). He was instrumental in effecting Rhode Island's ratification of the Constitution. Liberal patron of religious and educational societies, he attended the First Baptist Church. He was one of five men in Providence who kept a carriage, lived on the corner of South Main and Planet Streets, and married Patience Greene, niece of Governor William Greene.

Governor Jabez Bowen, Deputy Governor (1778-1780; 1781-1786); Commissioner of Loans during Washington's administration; Grand Master of St. John's Commandery (1794-99). An original Director of the Bank—President from December, 1808 to October, 1811.

Thomas Arnold, A.B. (Brown) 1771, A.M.; Trustee (1800-26). Merchant and lawyer, he was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (1809-10). He married Mary, daughter of Obadiah Brown, uncle of the "Four Brown Brothers."

⁹ Died May 29, 1791. See *Letter* (Providence, November 22, 1791) from Moses Brown to Champion & Dickason, London. "The Loss of my Eldist Brother [Nicholas] I expect you have [been] made acquainted with [,] it only remains for me to inform you in respect to Browns & Benson Affairs, I have no doubt they are good but my Brothers Estate by the Rise of publick Stocks Amt^s to more than any of us Expected [,] he hav^g at his Decease upwards of 200,000 Dollars in the Various Publick Securities [.]"

it Certinly will be an Object Worthy of Your & their Attention [.] Even if they [Nicholas' Securities] was to Form one half the Bank [.] I know not what they Could do better or What Can possibly be Done better for them

as to our Giting a Branch of the National Bank, it Appears Very Clear to Me that we Shall Stand a Much Graiter Chance of Succeeding in that by First hav[*in*]^g Established one of our own, than tho we Remain slouth Full [slothful] and theirby Induce their Directers to think this Town of No Suffitient Consiquenc[e] to Intitell us to a Branch, or an Office of Discount and Deposite, [—] as the Act of Congress [provides] May be [located] in aney part of the Union ware [where] the Directers may think proper

Their was an Artical in our Last proposed Bank Subscription & of Course will again be Inserted [.] that at aney Futer time when the Buissiness of the State may Require it [.] new Subscriptions Maybe added

I fulley Join You that this Town must of Course be Insignificant[,] and I may ad Mizarable in point of Welth, when Compaird with the Four Towns¹⁰ in the Union who now have *Banks* Established [.] but by our Exurtions and Forming a Good & Substantial Foundation for the Commercial [commercial], Manufactoral, & Macanical [mechanical], Riseing [coming] Generation [,] it may in time become no Inconsiderable Cappetell [capital] But without a Spring to promote Our Young Men in Buissiness hear, they must & will Continue to go to Such places as will Aid them with the Means of Buissiness. & in Short all our Welth [,] I Mean the Welth as fast as Acquired in this State [,] must be Transferd to those Other States who by their Banks promote all the Valuable Arts of Mankind

I ad no more, only that I am Your

Brother

J[ohn] B[rown]

¹⁰ Philadelphia, The Bank of North America, incorporated, by Congress, 1781, by Pennsylvania, 1782; Boston, 1784; New York, 1784; and Baltimore, 1790; the First Bank of the United States, February 15, 1791, opened for business December 12, 1791.

[John Brown to Moses Brown]

Aug^t. 14th. 1791D^r. Brother

I now Inclose You the Acts passed at the 3^d. Session of Congress on the 4th. Leaf of which being turned down being p^g. 232 is the Act to Incorporate the Subscribers to the Bank of the United States [.] I allso Inclose You the Form of the Subscription for the Boston Bank, together with our Letter from Mess^{rs}. Allins Covering the Baltimore Incorporation (with our B F¹¹ letter to them) & proposels for a Bank hear, besides which I hand You the plan of the Bank Lately proposed hear of 40,000—the one actually Subscribed was a Little & but a Little altered in Some perticulers [whi]ch is I beleave now in the hands of Gov^r. [Jabez] Bowen

torn
[I am] your Brother & Friend

J[ohn] B[rown]

[John Brown to Moses Brown]

Providence Septem 1st 1791D^r.

Brother, time is Roleing on—Fall is Now Come—when the Bank, hear so Much and So Long tauked of ought to be Soone in Motion [.] I wated [waited] for You & M^r. W[elcome] A[rnold] to have a Meeting and Compleet the Plan that it Might be handed to the Publick both hear & Elseware[.] New York & Boston we have Reason to Suppose May afford Some Subscribers if they Like the plan & have it in time the 1st Munday in October, only Next Month & that full Late, is proposed to Meet at the Court House & Subscribe to a Bank of 150,000 Doll^s. payable as Followeth Viz one half in Silver & Goald & half in 6 & 3 p^r C^{ts} Equilly of the Funded Debt of the Union [.] that is one Quarter part of both Spetia & paper to be p^d on the S^d [said] First Munday in Octob^r when the Directers May be Choose[n] [.] Who is [are] to Receive the Money & paper & put the Buissiness into Immediate Action[.] $\frac{1}{4}$ to be p^d. in 3 M^o [months] after Say the 1st Jan^y [.] $\frac{1}{4}$ 3 M^o. after that Viz the First Munday in April & the fourth & Last Quarter in 3 M^o after that Viz the Munday of July Next [.] unless the Directers may find that the first $\frac{3}{4}$ May be Amply Suffitient and from the Advice of the Stock Holders posponed S^d [said] Last Payment

¹¹ Presumably Brown & Francis.

till the Same May be wanted [.] it is also proposed that a Subscriber for One Shear has One Vote [,] Ten Shears Five Votes [,] 20 Shears Ten Votes [,] 40 Shears 15 Votes [,] & So on as the National Bank is Fixed [.] No one body [,] Corporation, Comp^y [,] or person whatever to have more than 30 Votes in all —

W[elcome] Arnold Esq^r is now or most Likely will this Day be at home, as I understood yesterday M^{rs} Arnold Expected him Last Even^g.

I wish you Could Attend an Hour or Two to [at] Some Suteable time this Even^g [,] or in the Morn^g if Convenient [,] that the plan May be Concluded and the publick Advised their of in M^r Carters next paper[.]¹²

Yours &c

J[ohn] B[rown]

P. S. I wish the Approbation of as Many as May be to the plan, in Every Respect, Viz the whole Amount When payable [,] the Number of Directors, how to Regulate the Shears to the Votes, the Small Subscribers No Doubt will like it best to have as Large a Shear of Government as they Can, how Many Shears ought to Intitle a Man to be a Director or President with Many other perticulers [,] is Nessessary to Incorporate or Git as General Assent too as May be before its too Late [.] will You Call at my Store at 10 oClk to Day and advise the Best Mode of Convean^g a Meeting [.] I think Coll^o [Joseph] N[ightingale]¹³ is Some More Convinced of the Utillity of a Bank hear, then he was.—

[Endorsement]

Moses Brown
at his house in the
Neck

¹² John Carter, Proprietor and Printer of *The Providence Gazette and Country Journal*, printed at Shakespeares Head [on Meeting Street].

¹³ Joseph Nightingale, Colonel of The Cadet (formerly Artillery) Company of the County of Providence; brother of Deacon Samuel Nightingale; Trustee of Brown University (1776-97). Joseph Nightingale and John I. Clark under the name of Clark & Nightingale were active in the East India Trade. Joseph Nightingale built the mansion on Benefit Street, between Power and Williams Streets, where John Carter Brown later housed his famous Library of Americana.

THE PROVIDENCE GAZETTE AND COUNTRY JOURNALSaturday, *September 10*, 1791.**PROPOSALS for a BANK
to be established at PROVIDENCE**

Taught by the experience of Europe and America, that well-regulated Banks are highly useful to society, by promoting punctuality in the performance of contracts, increasing the medium of trade, facilitating the payment of taxes, preventing the exportation of specie, and furnishing for it a safe deposite, and by discount rendering easy and expeditious the anticipation of funds on lawful interest, advancing at the same time the interest of the proprietors:

WE the subscribers, desirous of promoting such an institution, do hereby engage to take the number of shares set against our names respectively, in a bank to be established in Providence, in the State of Rhode-Island, on the following plan [which provided for a subscription of \$160,000 — 400 shares at \$400 each; to be paid in to the directors quarterly, begining October 1st, one half in silver or gold, one half in 6 per cent or 3 per cent stock of the United States. An arbitrary limit was set on the number of votes to which each share was entitled so that]no person, co-partnership, or body politic[would have more than 30 votes, regardless of the number of shares held.

[Nine directors were to be chosen from whom a President should be elected for one year; the Board to determine the manner of doing business; to choose from among their number — at every quarterly meeting — three inspectors to inspect the business of the Bank for the ensuing three months; and that no officer or director be entitled to any pecuniary advantage from his position unless the profits exceed 6 per cent.

[Stockholders were given the preference, in proportion to their ownership in the Bank, if more discounts were applied for] than the directors may think prudent to grant [and in order that the directors might know who owned stock it was provided] that no sale or conveyance whatever of any share . . . shall be deemed good, but such as may be made on the Bank books.

THE PROVIDENCE GAZETTE AND COUNTRY JOURNALSaturday, *September 24*, 1791.**To the PUBLIC.**

ALL Persons desirous of being concerned, as Stockholders, in the proposed BANK to be established in Providence, on Monday the 3d of October next, are hereby reminded, that the Meeting will then be

punctually held, at Ten o'Clock in the Morning, at the Court-House—when there is scarce a Doubt but that the Bank will be immediately filled, on Principles very similar to those of the National Bank, unless any Alteration should then be thought best; that the Sum in Specie to be paid down on each Subscription will be 25 Dollars at least, with an Indulgence not exceeding 30 days for the Remainder of the first Payment in Specie, on the lawful Interest being allowed to those who may not find it convenient to pay a larger Part down; and that the first Payment of public Paper may be put off to the Middle of January, by any who may not have it by them, which Deviation can make no Difference to the Stockholders, as the Interest on the said public Paper will be all cast to one Period. It is with peculiar Satisfaction the Friends to the proposed Bank can assure the Public that the Institution is pleasing to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and that therefore every reasonable Encouragement from him may be expected.

Providence, Sept. 23, 1791.

THE PROVIDENCE GAZETTE AND COUNTRY JOURNAL

Saturday, *October 1, 1791.*

To the PUBLIC.

As it seems to be the general wish, that the BANK, to be established in this town on Monday next, should be as nearly similar to the National Bank as possible, as thereby it may be more particularly connected therewith than otherwise it could be; and as there can be scarcely a doubt of the whole amount of said Bank being immediately subscribed for; a friend¹⁴ to the institution proposes (in order that all who wish to become stockholders should have a fair opportunity to subscribe) to enlarge the Bank to Two Hundred Thousand Dollars, as followeth; that is to say, five hundred shares of four hundred dollars each, payable two-fifth parts in silver or gold, and three-fifths in the funded debt of the United States, bearing an interest of six per cent. though, to accomodate the subscribers, any part of said paper may be paid at two for one in the three per cents of said funded debt, with full liberty to exchange them at any time within twelve months.

Twenty-five dollars only, in silver or gold, for each share, may be required to be paid down, or as soon as the Directors can be appointed and ready to receive it, and twenty-five dollars more in one month, with interest, which together make one quarter of the specie part of said Bank; . . . and that there be a clause added to the proposals, as before

¹⁴ Unquestionably this friend is John Brown himself.

printed, nearly as followeth, viz. that the stock of the Bank may be increased at any time hereafter, when a majority of the stockholders may find it necessary for the public utility, to any sum not exceeding five hundred thousand dollars

Any persons who may neglect attending at the Court-House at the hour appointed, viz. at ten o'clock on Monday morning next, by themselves or friends, to give in their names, with the number of shares, written on a piece of paper, for which they wish to subscribe, in order, should the whole number of shares exceed the five hundred, they may be reduced in some equitable proportion, so as only to leave the said five hundred shares in the whole—will do well to remember, that they can blame none but themselves for their inattention to the business; and are particularly desired to remember, when the script of this Bank may be selling from fifty to one hundred per cent. profit, in lieu of five hundred to twelve hundred per cent. advance, as the late National Bank scripts sold, that they will have none to blame but themselves; for all may be assured, that it is the general wish of all the promoters of this Bank, that the subscribers to it may be as numerous as can be expected from the extent or wealth of the State, from which a charter is expected.

Providence, Sept. 30, 1791.

THE PROVIDENCE GAZETTE AND COUNTRY JOURNAL

[News Item]

PROVIDENCE, OCTOBER 8, 1791.

Agreeably to Notice given in our last, relative to the Establishment of a BANK in this Town, about One Hundred Gentlemen met at the Court-House on Monday, when the Business of the Meeting was opened, and Choice made of WELCOME ARNOLD, Esq; as Chairman.—A Plan of a Constitution was then presented, and after having been maturely discussed by Paragraphs, and such Alterations made as were found necessary, it passed unanimously. It was judged most eligible [desirable] that the Bank should consist of 625 Shares of Four Hundred Dollars each; One Hundred and Twenty-five of which to be reserved for the United States; and Fifty for this State, should our Legislature think proper to subscribe for the same. The remaining 450 shares were then declared ready for Subscribers, and the Subscription was immediately began. The Chairman calling on the Gentlemen present to bring in their Subscriptions rolled up, and to be delivered by Six o'Clock, P.M. as after that Hour none could be received; the Time was most punctually

observed, and the Subscriptions counted by a Committee appointed for that purpose, when there appeared to be 1324 Shares subscribed for. This number far exceeding the prescribed Limits, occasioned by a large Subscription from Philadelphia, New-York, Massachusetts, and various Parts of this State, obliged the Subscribers immediately to reduce the Number of Shares, agreeably to a Vote passed previous to the Subscription, and it was accordingly reduced to the aforesaid 450 Shares.

The Business of the Subscription being finished, the Stock-Holders proceeded to the Choice of Directors; and the following Gentlemen were chosen, viz.

JOHN BROWN	WELCOME ARNOLD
JOHN I. CLARK	NICHOLAS BROWN
JABEZ BOWEN	SAMUEL BUTLER
MOSES BROWN	ANDREW DEXTER
THOMAS L. HALSEY ¹⁵	

Tuesday the Directors had a Meeting, when JOHN BROWN, Esq; was unanimously elected President, and Mr. OLNEY WINSOR, Cashier, for the Year ensuing. The First Payment of Specie was completed on Wednesday, and the Bank will be ready to receive Proposals for Discount on Monday next.

¹⁵ Directors not previously identified: John Innes Clark, member of the firm of Clark and Nightingale, owner of many privateers during the Revolution, he served with John Brown, Jabez Bowen, Joseph Nightingale, and others as a committee to supervise the construction of two ships for the Revolutionary Navy. Trustee of Brown University (1782-1808); Warden of St. John's Church (1790); and the President of the Bank (1803-1811).

Samuel Butler, prosperous merchant who began his business career as a cobbler and store keeper. Influential in promoting the settlement of the West Side, he was instrumental in making tenable much of the marsh land along the Cove. He acquired considerable property in the vicinity of lower Weybosset and Westminster Streets including a portion of the sites of the Arcade and the new Industrial Trust Building. Overseer of the Poor, Assessor of Taxes, and Member of the Town Council of Providence, the one member permitted from the West Side.

Nicholas Brown (1769-1841), son of Nicholas and nephew of John and Moses; married first, Ann Carter (daughter of John Carter, the printer, and mother of John Carter Brown) and second, Mary Bowen Stelle. Member of the firm of Browns & Benson, later Brown & Ives, in 1804 he gave \$5,000 to Rhode Island College for the endowment of a Professorship of Oratory and Belles Lettres. In accordance with the

[Advertisement]

BANK SCRIPTS.

HOPPIN & SNOW¹⁶

Are in Want of Twenty-five Providence BANK
SCRIPTS, for each of which they will give
Forty-five Dollars in Cash, payable on Delivery
of the Scripts.

vote of the Corporation that the donor of \$5,000 would be entitled to name the college, the name was changed to Brown University on September 6, 1804.

Andrew Dexter, merchant and manufacturer. In 1786 together with Daniel Anthony and Lewis Peck he formed a company to engage in cotton spinning and manufacturing, and built (1787) the first spinning jenny made in the United States, which was set up in the Market House on Market Square. In 1793 he operated a "New Cheap Store for Country Merchants and Others . . . between the Great Bridge & the Baptist Meeting House."

Thomas L. Halsey, wealthy Providence citizen; French consular agent in Rhode Island during the Revolution; Commissary General of the French troops. He married Sarah Bowen, daughter of Dr. Ephraim Bowen, and in 1801 built the Thomas Halsey house on the west side of Prospect Street north of Barnes Street, now owned by Mr. and Mrs. William Lippitt Mauran.

Olney Winsor, Cashier 1791-1810, (Son of Samuel Winsor, pastor of the First Baptist Church [1759-1771]). Trustee of Brown University (1798-1837). Olney Winsor conducted a Book Store and later became a partner in Jenckes, Winsor & Co., merchants. When cashier Winsor resided at the Bank on the South Side of Hopkins Street. He married Free love Waterman (1777) and later Hope Thurber (1784). He compiled a Genealogy of the Winsor Family.

¹⁶ Colonel Benjamin Hoppin and Samuel Snow, auctioneers and commission merchants doing business as Hoppin & Snow, opposite the Market House. Hoppin was Colonel of the Providence County Militia, Collector of Taxes in 1781; was appointed "Vendue Master" (public auctioneer) of the City of Providence; and a corporator of the Beneficent Congregational Church (1785); married Anne Rawson. After the dissolution of the partnership of Hoppin & Snow (1793), he continued in business with his son Benjamin, Jr. Captain Samuel Snow, A.B. (Brown) A.M., Captain of the First R. I. Regiment of Continental Infantry, formerly

To the PUBLIC.

THE BANK established in this town, on Monday last, will begin its operation, at the BANK-HOUSE, on the south side of the new paved street, commonly known by the name of Governor Hopkins's Lane, on Monday next.

As public notice was given for a general attendance at forming the Constitution of the Bank, it may be expected that every inhabitant will be desirous of the promotion and prosperity of the institution, as thereby the convenience and interest of the inhabitants in general will be greatly assisted, especially if every class of citizens shall deposite their money for safe keeping in the vaults of the Bank, and either give their checks thereon for their daily transactions, or take out Bank Notes to the amount of their deposites.

It is hoped and expected, that all persons who may transact any business with the Bank will attend to the strictest punctuality as the most minute exactness in the discharge of every contract will be expected.

Although the business of the Bank must be conducted with great caution, at the same time it will be the object of the Managers that every possible convenience be given to those who may apply for discount; they therefore propose to discount *twice a week*, as at Philadelphia and New-York, viz. on *Tuesdays* and *Fridays*; the proposals for discount, for *thirty days* and *three days of grace*, for notes or other securities made payable in Bank, must be lodged with the Cashier on the days previous to the discounts, viz. on *Mondays* and *Thursdays*; and every such note or other security must be supported by one good and sufficient endorser at least, living in this town, so as to be perfectly satisfactory as to a certainty of the most punctual compliance with the tenor thereof; or, in lieu of such notes or other securities, a deposite of the funded debt of the nation, or other valuable paper, or plate, will be received. Large discounts cannot be expected, until the stock of the Bank be increased by further payments of the Stockholders.

The Bank will be open, and ready for receiving and paying money, at nine o'clock in the morning, and continue open till three o'clock in the afternoon, on every day, Sundays excepted.—Should any person about to leave town, or from other causes wish to exchange Bank Notes for specie at any other hour, it is hoped that every person having specie by him will

of the firm of Benjamin and Samuel Snow, merged with the Hoppin firm in 1790; he engaged in the China trade, voyaged to China in 1795, and was appointed consul at Canton (1798). He was an original member of the Rhode Island Society of Cincinnati, Secretary (1812), and first Captain General of St. John's Commandery.

readily accommodate in such cases, as all may, should they choose, obtain specie for notes the moment the Bank shall open.

By Order of the Directors,

OLNEY WINSOR, Cashier.

Providence, Oct. 7, 1791.

[Notice of first meeting of Directors,
John Brown to the directors of the Bank]

Gentlemen

As no time has beene Agreed on by the Directors what Hour they will Attend at the Bank to Agree on the Several Proposals for Discount, I wish a General Attendance of You all at the Bank at 5. oClk this Afternoone, to Deside on the proposall that are & Shall be Made this Day, & also to Agree on what kind of paper Shall be Rec^d. as Deposites, with any other Buissness that May Require Investigation

I wish You Gentlemen for a Short time at Least would Meet at the Bank for half an Hour at Noone & half an Hour toward Even^g, when Any Buissness of Importence May be Communicated to Each Other. If we are all once Conveand the Above or Any More Eligable [desirable] plan of Government Maybe Discused & Agreed to for the Gen^l. Good—

I am Gentlemen Your Ob^t.

Humble Serv^t.

John Brown

Bank Octob^r 10th. 1/2 after 2. oClk

1791

The Directors of the Bank

THE PROVIDENCE GAZETTE AND COUNTRY JOURNAL

October 15, 1791.

[News Item]

Scripts in the Bank of Providence have this Week been sold at One Hundred per Cent. Advance.—The Bank began to discount on Tuesday last.

THE PROVIDENCE GAZETTE AND COUNTRY JOURNAL

October 22, 1791.

[Advertisement]

WANTED IMMEDIATELY, BY
 BROWN *and* FRANCIS,
for which a generous Price will be paid in CASH
 Good Ox Beef, Pork and Barley.

THEY HAVE FOR SALE

BOHEA TEA, in Quarter, Half and
 Whole Chests; . . .

CHINA WARE, of Various Sorts, . . . [etc.]

All the above mentioned Articles they will sell at as low Prices for Cash, Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, or Providence Bank-Notes, or the public Securities of the Continent, or Four New-England States, as can be bought elsewhere in America, as they are the original Importers, and particularly wish to encourage the Inhabitants of this State, and their neighbors of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Vermont, to frequent the Town of Providence, so much nearer and convenient than New-York or Boston.—They beg Leave to remark, that, as a Bank is now established in this Town, the Citizens will be enabled to pay on all occasions Cash for Country Produce.

Providence, Oct. 19, 1791.

THE PROVIDENCE GAZETTE AND COUNTRY JOURNAL

Saturday, October 29, 1791

[News Item]

The Public may be assured, that the Notes of the BANK of this Town, signed by JOHN BROWN, as President, and OLNEY WINSOR, as Cashier, are at all Times punctually paid, when presented at the BANK:—Therefore all Persons may safely receive them as Silver and Gold, they being much more convenient for Carriage and safe Keeping.

THE PROVIDENCE GAZETTE AND COUNTRY JOURNAL

April 7, 1792

[Advertisement]

PROVIDENCE BANK

AT a Meeting of the President and Directors of the PROVIDENCE BANK, on Thursday the 5th Instant, a Dividend for the first Half Year was declared, at the Rate of Eight per Cent. per Annum, on the whole funded Stock of the Bank, and on the first and second Specie Payments made thereto; which, agreeably to the Constitution, will be paid to the Stockholders on Demand.

By Order of the President and Directors.

OLNEY WINSOR, *Cashier.*

Doctoral and Masters' Theses Relating to Rhode Island

Presented at Brown University in the Departments of
Economics, History, Political Science, and Social Science;
on deposit in the John Hay Library

Compiled by HOPE F. KANE*

DOCTORAL THESES:

Marguerite Appleton, *Relations of the Corporate Colony of Rhode Island to the British Government.* [Providence] 1928. 292 p. map.

Carol Aronovici, *Some nativity and race factors in Rhode Island.* [Providence] 1911. 31 p. Tables.

†Bruce M. Bigelow, *The Commerce of Rhode Island with the West Indies before the American Revolution.* [Providence] 1930. 2 v.

Marion E. Bratcher, *Social investigation of seven rural towns in Rhode Island.* [Providence] 1916. 355 p., maps. Treats of Burrillville, Glocester, Foster, Scituate, Coventry, West Greenwich, and Exeter.

Harold S. Bucklin, *A Survey of certain State Institutions for the Care of Delinquents, Dependents, and Defectives.* [Providence] 1918. 674 p., tables.

*A.B. (Brown) 1927, A.M. (Radcliffe) 1928, Ph.D. (Brown) 1930.

†Temporarily withheld from circulation.

‡Published.

Clifford C. Hubbard, *Constitutional development in Rhode Island*. [Providence] 1926.

Mrs. Vera R. R. Kilduff, *An Analysis of the development of the Canadian American Trade*. [Providence] 1938. 388 p.

†Howard Kemble Stokes, *The Finances and Administration of Providence*. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins, Press, 1903. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, Extra Volume XXV.] 464 p. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 were written originally as a doctoral thesis at Brown University.

MASTERS' THESES:

Adolph G. Abramson, *Forces affecting the geographical distribution of the cotton textile industry in the United States*. [Providence] 1936. 106 p.

Robert Harry Ferguson, *Textile unions in Rhode Island*. [Providence] 1940. 221 p.

†Editha Hadcock, *The labor problem in the Rhode Island cotton industry*. [Providence] 1931. 167 p.

‡*The Letter Book of Esek Hopkins Commander-in-chief of the United States Navy 1775-1777*, edited by Alverda S. Beck. Providence, Rhode Island Historical Society, 1932. 151 p.

Robert Cooper Krapf, *History of the woolen and worsted industry in Rhode Island*. [Providence] 1938. 154 p.

Constance Morrison, *Role of women in Rhode Island in the 19th century*. [Providence] 1940. 63 p.

‡Sarah I. Morse, *A study of still births and neo-natal deaths in Woonsocket, Rhode Island during . . . 1925*. Providence, Child Welfare Division, R. I. State Board of Health, 1926. 26 p.

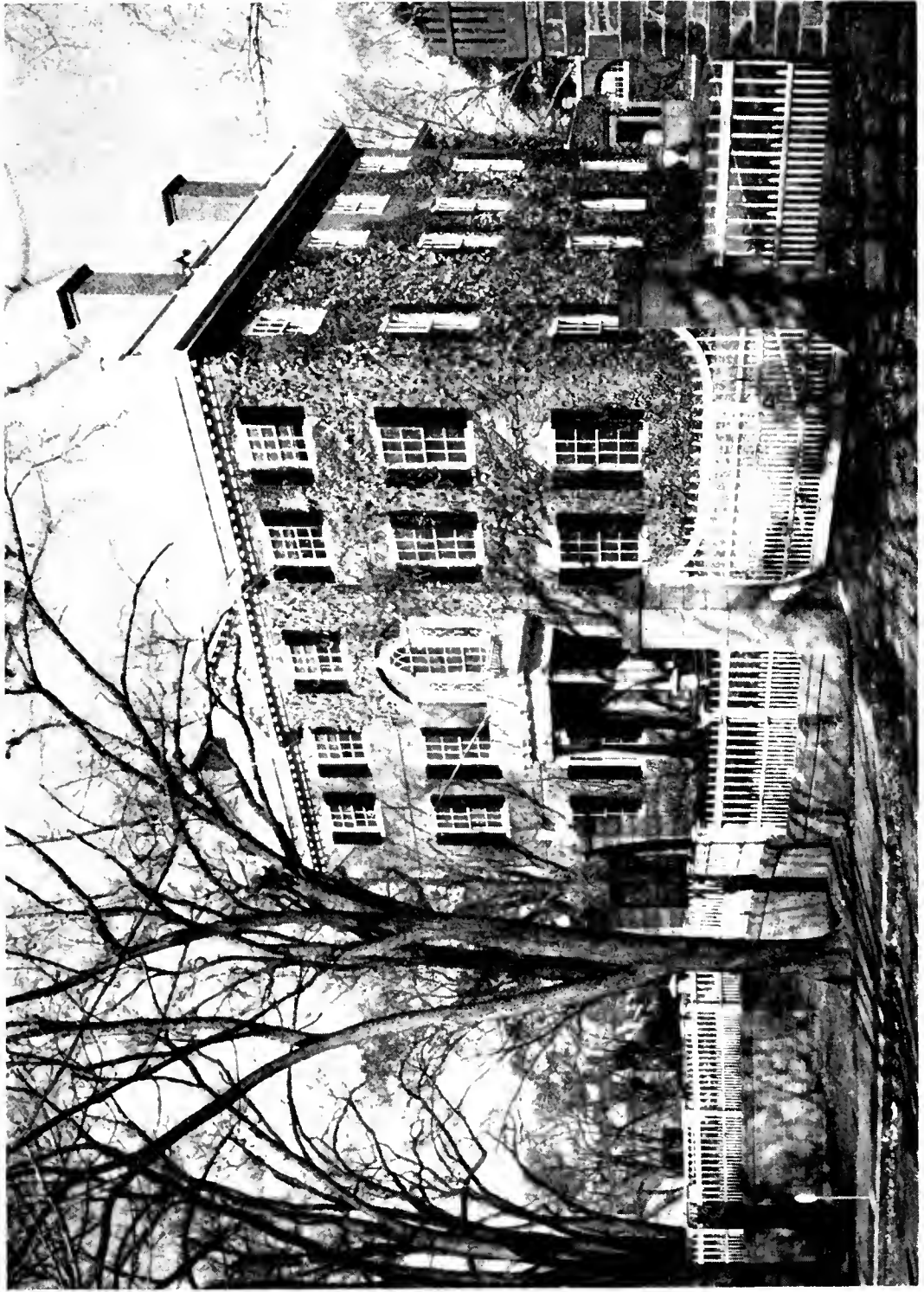
Granville T. Prior, *The French Canadians in New England*. [Providence] 1932. 2 v.

‡*Theodore Foster's Minutes of the Convention held at South Kingstown, Rhode Island, in March, 1790, which failed to adopt the Constitution of the United States*, Transcribed with annotations by Robert C. Cotner. Providence, Rhode Island Historical Society, 1929. 99 p.

Alice M. Towsley, *A study of intermarriage in Stamford, Connecticut, and Woonsocket, Rhode Island*. [Providence] 1940. 61 p.

Howard W. Wilson, *An index of industrial activity in Rhode Island*. [Providence] 1931. 112 p.

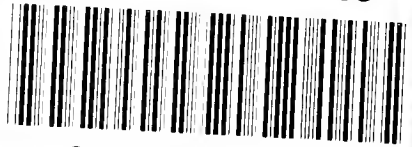
Joe H. Wilson, *Soldier relief work in Rhode Island during the Civil War*. [Providence] 1931. 84 p.



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THE JOHN BROWN HOUSE (1786)

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